In This Issue—

Special 16-Page Supplement on Nixon and Humphrey

The Candidates and Their Views

HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Will Probe Ties to Black Liberation Army

McClellan Plans New Anti-Poverty Investigation

By PAUL SCOTT

Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.) is launching another inquiry into the use of federal anti-poverty funds to finance an armed black militant group that could be more sensational than his recent expose of the Blackstone Rangers in Chicago.

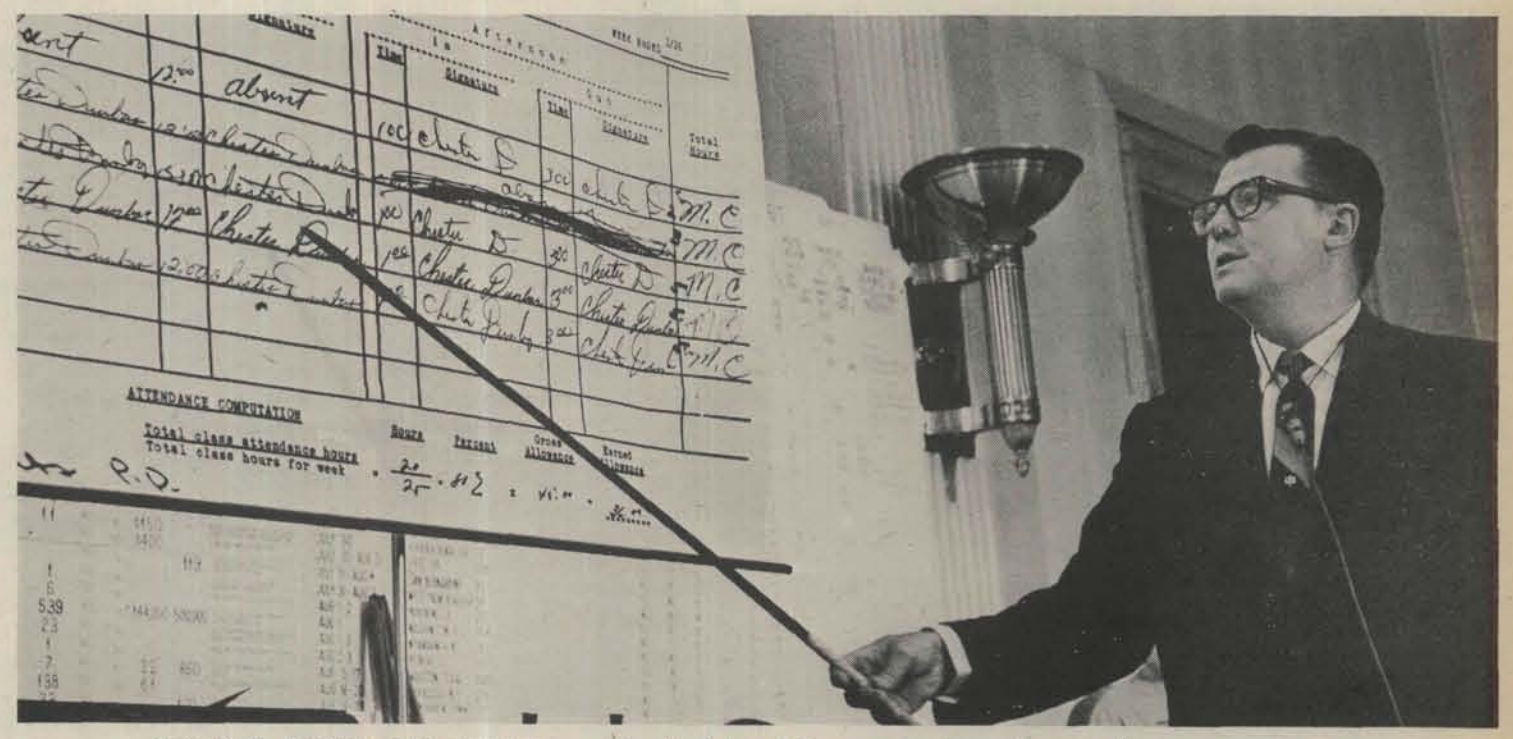
The new inquiry centers around the funding by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the government's anti-poverty agency, of groups which members of the Black Liberation Army have infiltrated.

A nationwide armed organization of Negro militants, the Black Liberation Army has covertly organized a number of six-man cells in the major cities to launch guerrilla warfare against local police and city officials.

Federal security authorities, probing the activities of the BLA, label the paramilitary group as one of the most violent and dangerous in the country. Several of its members already have been linked to shooting of policemen in three cities.

On the request of Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.), Sen. McClellan has assigned two crack investigators from his Permanent Investigating subcommittee to open the probe of the BLA in Wilmington, Del., where the National Guard has patrolled the streets at night since last April.

Local law authorities in that racially tense Delaware River city recently arrested six members of the Black Liberation Army conducting their own armed maneuvers on a small island within the city. They were charged with the illegal possession of weapons and drugs.



Howard C. Doulder, a handwriting expert for the Internal Revenue Service, points out discrepancies in a trainee's time report during an investigation of OEO's Woodlawn project in Chicago. Sen. McClellan's Permanent Investigating subcommittee wants to look into even potentially more dangerous situations in Wilmington, Del.

The McClellan probe was triggered by the discovery that four members of the Black Liberation Army were on the payroll of the Wilmington Youth Emergency Action Council (WYEAC), a local anti-poverty organization.

While the McClellan probers received unverified reports during their Chicago inquiry that the Black Liberation Army had placed its members on anti-poverty projects in several cities, the Wilmington arrests turned up the first hard evidence of this link.

Preliminary information obtained by the Senate probers clearly shows that WYEAC, an organization of about 850 Negro youths, received more than $100,000 from the federal government during the past year.

In their investigation, the Wilmington police also have gathered evidence showing how BLA members had access to the anti-poverty group's high-speed panel trucks, equipped with the most modern two-way radios.

The latter discovery is being further investigated because of the tense security situation in the city. National Guard officers, whose units have been on duty since the disorders following the shooting of Dr. Martin Luther King, have complained that the trucks were being used by black militants to keep their patrols under surveillance.

Subcommittee members say Sen. McClellan's decision to open his inquiry of the Black Liberation Army in Wilmington could focus the national spotlight on one of the most controversial "law and order" debates in the country.

As part of his program to help local authorities keep racial peace in Wilmington, Gov. Charles Terry has kept the National Guard partially mobilized and on duty in that strife-torn city.

His firm action has brought strong criticism from the legislature, big business supporters of the anti-poverty program, and members of the National Council of Churches.

In the face of this strong opposition, the widely popular Terry has justified the continued call-up of the National Guard units on the grounds that their presence in the city has already prevented two riots.

As part of his defense, Terry points to the arrest of members of the Black Liberation Army and their stockpile of arms. A recent sniper incident, in which three persons in a bus were injured by flying glass, is also being cited by Terry as proof that the National Guard is still needed.

Gov. Terry, who acts and looks a bit like Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago, has called on President Johnson to end federal funding of the Wilmington Youth Emergency Action Council because of its financial help for black militants, including the BLA. The White House decision is expected by the end of the month.

Sen. John L. McClellan (D.-Ark.)

If the White House should direct the government's poverty agency to continue to finance the controversial youth project, the colorful Terry is ready to ask the senators for permission to air his case publicly before the subcommittee.

In the governor's book the lack of close supervision of anti-poverty funds in his state is creating the seeds of disorder more than the small pockets of poverty that exist in Delaware.

NEWSPAPER

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Capital Briefs

● The **Socialist party** last week urged the defeat of Richard Nixon, calling him "the sophisticated spokesman for conservatism," and then gave backing to Democrat Hubert Humphrey. While condemning HHH's support of the Viet Nam war, the Socialists' resolution declared that "Humphrey's victory is preferable to any other realistic possibility, and no strategy of protest [i.e., fourth party] voting will seriously forward the progressive political trends."

● Dissident **anti-war Democrats** are organizing themselves into a permanent nationwide force to work within the party. Two hundred former backers of presidential candidates Sens. Kennedy, McCarthy and McGovern, will meet in Minneapolis in early October to form the New Democratic Coalition, to be led by Georgia's Julian Bond and New York's Allard Lowenstein. Although the most immediate problem on the new group's agenda is its position on supporting Hubert Humphrey, most members are looking to the future and efforts to instill their leftist position on the Democratic party.

● Humphrey spokesmen accuse Richard Nixon of using an anti-Negro "code word" in calling for "law and order." But the Post Office is bringing out a **"law and order" postage stamp**—authorized by none other than former Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien, Humphrey's hand-picked chairman of the Democratic National Convention.

● Minnesota's **Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party**, the creation of Hubert Humphrey, last week advocated the recognition of Red China, liberalization of abortion laws and easing penalties for use of marijuana. The statement, adopted by DFL leaders without dissent, calls for a "re-oriented foreign policy" that would "avoid making anti-communism the touchstone of American attitude toward foreign regimes." In addition to Red China's recognition, it called for trade with Peking.

● The International Chemical Workers Union, with 77,000 members in the burgeoning atomic energy field, voted last week to affiliate with the **Alliance for Labor Action** (ALA), established earlier this year by Walter Reuther as a countervailing force to the AFL-CIO; the chemical workers, however, did not indicate they would drop their AFL-CIO affiliation. Later the AFL-CIO Executive Council, which expelled Reuther and his UAW this year, passed a resolution saying any federation union which also affiliated with the ALA was liable for expulsion.

● **George Wallace** received a personal introduction to the crime issue last week in Cincinnati. A volunteer taking up a collection at a Wallace rally filled his own plastic bucket with $1 and $5 bills and then promptly fled the auditorium; Wallace aides sent police out to fetch the culprit, to no avail.

● A recent Miami arrival was Cuban refugee **Kid Gavilan**, former world welterweight boxing champion (1951-54). Gavilan is a devout Jehovah's Witness who was once jailed by Castro for his failure to support the Havana Red regime. "The Communists believe a person should not have a religion," commented the 42-year-old Gavilan on his arrival.

● Contrary to frequent charges by black militants, the **American Jewish Congress** has proved that, in New York's Harlem ghetto at least, Jews do not own a majority of the stores and thereby make profits at the expense of Negroes. Surveying a 20-block area in the heart of Harlem, an AJC survey found that nearly 60 per cent of the 193 stores were owned by Negroes; about 35 per cent of the stores, most of them the small "mom-and-pop" type, were owned by Jews, the remainder being Chinese laundries, chain supermarkets and Puerto Rican- owned shops.

● Republicans are making a big pitch for the **serviceman's vote**. They are taking out ads in the Army Times and other service-oriented publications, urging GIs to register and vote for Nixon to bring the Viet Nam war to an honorable conclusion.

● A New York Times survey last week reported that Republicans could pick up as many as **seven gubernatorial seats** in the November elections, to add to the present GOP total of 26. With 21 governorships at stake, Republicans are now thought to be leading in eleven races, Democrats in six, with four rated as toss-ups. Four seats the GOP is fairly assured of picking up are those in Vermont, New Hampshire, Illinois and Iowa.

● Rep. **Mike Kirwan** (D.-Ohio), chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, is telling colleagues that the party will lose a "minimum" of a dozen House seats this fall. "We could lose control [of the House] very easily," Kirwan says.

● **James L. Buckley**, conservative party candidate for senator from New York, received a warm welcome from union members at the huge General Electric plant in Schenectady last week. Company officials said the reception was far more enthusiastic than that accorded the Democratic nominee, Paul O'Dwyer, two weeks earlier.

● Reports out of Lansing say that if Michigan Gov. **George Romney** does not land a prestige post with a possible Nixon Administration, he is considering running for the Senate seat now held by Sen. Phil Hart, a two-term Democrat.

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GOP Fights to Win House

Armed with a $1-million budget for new candidates, GOP leaders last week launched a major drive to capture control of the House next January. The funds will be distributed on a matching basis to 200 GOP challengers in 39 states. The new candidates' budget and another $1 million in money and services for incumbent Republicans are part of a determined GOP effort to make sure Richard Nixon can win the presidency even if he fails to collect a majority of electoral votes and the election is tossed into the House.

The continuing strength shown by George Wallace, who, while not having a chance to be elected himself, could very well deprive all presidential candidates of a majority of the electoral votes, has given new meaning to the GOP drive.

Each state's congressional delegation will be permitted to cast one vote for President if the House decides the election. And how that delegation goes, of course, depends on whether it is composed of a majority of Republicans or Democrats. Currently, Democrats control 29 delegations, Republicans 18. The GOP needs 26 delegations for control.

A recent GOP position paper, however, reveals that the Republicans will not have an easy time in winning a majority of the congressional delegations in November. It states:

"Assuming there are no absentees, no vacancies due to death or resignation, and that all members would vote in their state delegations for the nominee of their national party, the present House . . . would choose Hubert Humphrey by a margin of 29 to 18.

"It is possible, depending on where the gains and losses occur on November 5, that Republicans could win control of the whole House [i.e., have a numerical majority] . . . and still leave the Democrats with a majority in 26 state delegations, enough to pick a President."

The Republican brief admonishes further: "To be absolutely sure of a change in Washington next year enough Republican congressmen must be elected to make up majorities within at least 26 state delegations—eight more than Republicans control now."

Conservatives who don't want to see Hubert Humphrey in the White House would be wise, therefore, to concentrate much of their election activity on their local congressional races.

Georgia Dems Bolt to GOP

Other Dixie Democrats may follow the lead of five top Georgia officials who quit their party last week and switched to the GOP. The five conservatives stunned their colleagues by announcing they were changing their party registration and would run again as Republicans. The decision may turn out to be a blow not only to Hubert Humphrey, but George Wallace as well. The five defectors are: State Controller James D. Bentley, Agriculture Commissioner Phil Campbell, State Treasurer Jay Ray, Public Service Commission Chairman Crawford Pilcher and Public Service Commissioner Alpha Fowler.

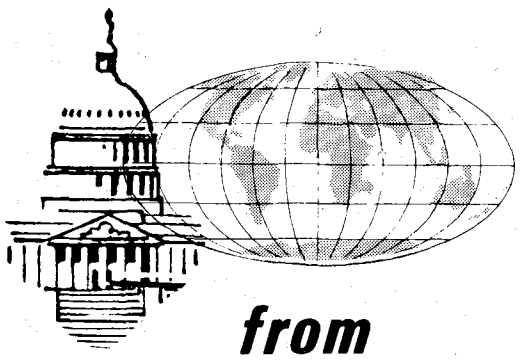
Bentley spoke for the five in explaining his resignation from the Democratic party: "I share the feeling of the beleagured masses of this state who have wearied of undisciplined violence, bad economics, teeming inconsistencies and reckless fiscal attitudes."

Former Rep. Howard 'Bo' Callaway (R.-Ga.) was given credit for the defections of Bentley and his four colleagues. Callaway has made a major effort —not only in Georgia but throughout the South— to convince conservative Democrats to find their true home in the GOP. In recent weeks he said he had made overtures to "eight or ten" Democratic Congressmen in what the New York *Times* called a "full-scale Republican attempt to raid the opposition."

Callaway assured the Democratic lawmakers they could retain their seniority if they switched over to the Republican side of the aisle. "I would think without question that an equitable arrangement could be worked out [to maintain committee standing]," Callaway said. "I don't think that's going to be any problem."

One GOP source said that the Democratic congressmen were unlikely to defect until after the November elections. But state officials in South Carolina and Tennessee were said to be ready to take the step soon.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

Fortas: The Judiciary Vote

By an 11-to-6 margin the Senate Judiciary Committee last week approved the nomination of Associate Justice Abe Fortas to be chief justice of the United States. The action set the stage for a filibuster on the Senate floor this week.

Here are those on the committee who voted for Fortas' nomination:

Democrats—Thomas J. Dodd (Conn.), Philip A. Hart (Mich.), Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.), Birch Bayh (Ind.), Quentin A. Burdick (North Dakota), Joseph D. Tydings (Md.), George Smathers (Fla.).

Republicans—Everett M. Dirksen (Ill.), Roman L. Hruska (Neb.), Hugh Scott (Pa.).

Sen. Edward Long (D.-Mo.) was absent, but was permitted to record a vote in favor of the nomination.

Those voting against the nomination were:

Democrats—James O. Eastland (Miss.), John McClellan (Ark.), and Sam Ervin (N.C.).

Republicans—Hiram L. Fong (Hawaii), Strom Thurmond (S.C.) and Howard Baker (Tenn.).

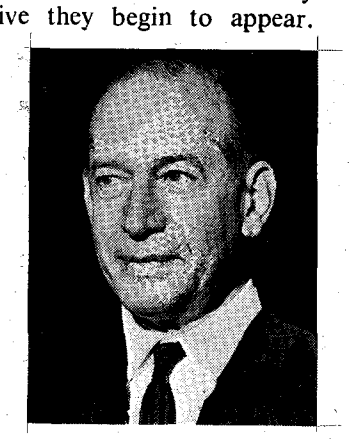
Time is growing short for those who want to write their senators telling them to block Fortas' nomination.

...The ABA Endorsement

In the upcoming—and perhaps historic—Senate debate on the Fortas nomination, supporters of the nomination will point to the fact that the American Bar Association has approved not only Fortas for chief justice, but that other LBJ crony, Homer Thornberry, for associate justice.

But the more the ABA endorsements are closely probed, the less impressive they begin to appear.

GRIFFIN



FORTAS

Here, for example, are just a few of the flaws that Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.) and others have found in the ABA's stamp of approval of LBJ's nominees:

• First of all, none of these nominations has ever been approved by the ABA's 133,000 members or even by its governing body, the house of delegates. The only approval has come from the ABA's 12-man Committee on the Federal Judiciary.

• Most of the members of the ABA committee, furthermore, had no knowledge whatsoever of the Fortas-Thornberry nominations until about 7 a.m. on the morning of June 26, the very day the President publicly made known his appointments.

• On that morning, moreover, the committee "met by means of a telephone conference call which lasted the better part of one hour. During this conference call the committee members were informed of the President's intentions, were advised of investigative reports on the nominees and then approved them.

• The investigation of Thornberry was conducted by one Leon Jaworski, of Houston, Tex., who was not even a member of the committee. He was, however, a close friend of LBJ's. Indeed, he was LBJ's attorney and, along with Fortas, successfully defended Johnson in 1960 against a suit challenging LBJ's right to run for vice president and senator at the same time.

• While the vote was described as "unanimous," at least one member of the committee had no knowledge of the conference call and took no part in any vote on the nominees. Sen. Robert Griffin states, further, that several members of the ABA's Committee on the Federal Judiciary were "very much disturbed because they were expected on the morning of June 26 to give such hasty rubber-stamp approval to the Fortas-Thornberry nominations."

In view of these circumstances surrounding the ABA endorsements, says Griffin, "I wonder what weight the members of the U.S. Senate are expected to assign to the oft-cited approval of the American Bar Association of the Fortas-Thornberry nominations?"

...The $15,000 Fee

Associate Justice Abe Fortas' chances of being elevated to chief justice took another downward turn last week as it was revealed that he had received a whopping $15,000 fee for a series of nine seminar meetings with a class of 17 students at American University. Aside from representing nearly 40 per cent of his current Supreme Court salary of $39,500, the normal fee for such services is only $2,500. Furthermore, Juvenile Court Judge Orm W. Ketcham, who filled in for Fortas at one session, said he had received no payment whatever; nor, apparently, had Fortas offered to share his fee with Ketcham.

Far more disturbing to senators than the amount of money Fortas received, however, was the questionable manner in which it was raised. Fortas, it turns out, was paid out of a special $30,000 kitty collected by his ex-law partner, Paul Porter, with whom Fortas was associated in the practice of law before joining the Supreme Court. The donations to Fortas were not only kept secret, but were also tax deductible.

Dean B. J. Tennery of the university's law school revealed that Porter obtained the money by passing the hat among five business tycoon friends of Fortas, including Gustave Levy, chairman of the New York Stock Exchange and partner in Goldman Sachs & Co.; Troy V. Post, chairman of Greatamerica Corp.; John L. Loeb, partner in Carl M. Loeb, Rhoades & Co.; Paul D. Smith, general counsel of Phillips Morris, Inc., and Maurice Lazarus, vice chairman of Federated Department Stores. These men are also involved in many other business operations.

The big question now being raised—and one Fortas refuses to answer—is the propriety of soliciting funds from Fortas' business friends when the companies these friends are connected with may have litigation before the Supreme Court. One of the Fortas donors, Troy V. Post, in fact, is the father of a man who is appealing a conspiracy and fraud conviction through the federal courts.

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The Canons of Judicial Ethics of the American Bar Association, say a number of senators, should have barred Fortas from receiving the fee. "A judge's official conduct," observes Canon 4, "should be free from impropriety and the appearance of impropriety . . . his personal behavior, not only upon the Bench and in the performance of judicial duties, but also in his everyday life, should be beyond reproach." Canon 32 reads: "A judge should not accept any presents or favors from litigants, or from lawyers practicing before him or from others whose interests are likely to be submitted to him for judgment."

This new Fortas revelation, coupled with his ultra-liberal decisions and questionable advice to LBJ, may just be the deciding factor that will stop his nomination.

Rewarding Our Enemies

Rep. Charles Chamberlain (R.-Mich.), a veteran House foe of trading with the enemy, recently disclosed that the Polish vessel, *Hugo Kollataj*, which has frequently carried cargo to North Viet Nam, has been doing business in American ports.

CHAMBERLAIN

The Michigan lawmaker said he reported on this ship's activities on September 11 in New York when he watched it unload tons of steel stamped "Made in Poland" on Pier 8 in Brooklyn. On September 13, said Chamberlain, the ship was in Philadelphia. On September 17 it was in Baltimore "riding high out on the water at Pier 8. . . ."

Addressing his colleagues last week, Chamberlain stated: "It has now been some two weeks since the *Hugo Kollataj* first entered our waters on September 1 at Boston and I am satisfied that the Administration is fully aware of this ship's activities. It is apparent to me that the Administration could not care less. The only reaction I have noted is a desire to keep the whole sordid business as quiet as possible."

Here is a ship, Chamberlain continued, "owned and operated by the Polish government, welcomed in five American ports for business as usual, after it has helped to feed a war machine that has so far cost the lives of over 25,000 Americans. These Communists must be laughing all the way to the bank.

"This kind of trade does not build bridges of understanding. Rather this trade builds the bridges needed for Communist expansion and aggression throughout the world, whether in Viet Nam or Czechoslovakia."

Since we do not trust the Communists aboard the ship, Chamberlain added, the American taxpayer must pay the bill for maintaining a 24-hour surveillance of it. This requires the round-the-clock presence of a Coast Guard vessel and its entire crew. The activities of the *Hugo Kollataj* are being watched along the water-side, along the dock-side, as well as by a sentry at the gangway—all at the cost of the U.S. taxpayer—and this will continue as long as this ship is in any U.S. port.

Chamberlain talked to a serviceman who had conversed with some of the Polish sailors. The Poles had told the serviceman of their travels to Haiphong —and volunteered the information that some of their cargo was of Russian origin.

"Is it any wonder," Chamberlain asked, "that this U.S. serviceman, who himself wears a ribbon in recognition of his year's duty in Viet Nam, seemed a bit bewildered as to why our government would welcome this ship that has helped the enemy. . . ?"

While the *Hugo Kollataj* has been blacklisted by the Maritime Administration since Jan. 13, 1967, from carrying U.S. government-financed cargoes out of the United States, says Chamberlain, the Administration has for several years opposed denying such vessels the use of our ports if the goods involved are not U.S. financed.

Chamberlain seeks to change this situation and has introduced a bill (HR 365) which would prevent such ships as the *Hugo Kollataj* from paying any visits to U.S. ports. To permit these vessels to willy-nilly dock in the United States, says Chamberlain, "is a shocking breach of faith with our troops in Viet Nam."

HHH's Red Tinted DFL

While Hubert Humphrey roams about the country telling everybody how he's going to deal with the Communists overseas, back in his home state of Minnesota the Reds are once again beginning to infiltrate the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party. Founded 24 years ago with significant aid from Humphrey himself, this is the party that made the Minnesotan the kingpin politico in the Gopher State and assigned him the majority of delegates to the Democratic National Convention this year.

Already having suffered because of the Humphrey-McCarthy split, the DFL is now beginning to lose support because of what its own members are calling a Red threat. Miss Ruthann Withrow, a lifelong Minneapolis resident, charged back in April that "some delegates to the Hennepin County DFL Convention" were "members of the Communist party." A former undercover agent for the FBI who gave expert testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1964, Miss Withrow added that the credentials committee of the convention refused to review evidence to support the challenges.

One of the delegates challenged, James A. Brown, refused to respond to questions regarding possible Communist affiliations when he appeared before HCUA in 1964. A woman who was challenged was the wife of another non-cooperative witness before HCUA in the same year. Two more challenged were actually members of the credentials committee.

Miss Withrow originally submitted her letter of resignation from the DFL to the Minneapolis *Tribune* on April 8, but the *Tribune* wouldn't print it. It was later picked up by the Minneapolis *Daily American*. Miss Withrow's letter concludes:

"It is with sorrow that this letter is written, but I believe DFL supporters have the right to know what is going on. When they know, they can take whatever action they think best. As for me, I cannot stay in an organization which apparently welcomes Communist support and whose platform and policies are shaped to any degree by members of the Communist party; therefore I am publicly tendering my resignation." Other public resignations have followed.

Some are wondering if the DFL is now facing the same sort of crisis it did in 1946 when the Communists were allowed to capture important positions in the party. After the anti-Communist liberals permitted this to happen, it took them two years to drive the Reds out of control.

Conservative Victories

Congressional conservatives last week scored a double triumph in two of their hardest fought legislative battles of the 90th Congress. The twin victories came as the House approved the lowest foreign aid appropriation in the program's history—with the House approving only $1.6 billion—and inserted a provision in the Higher Education Act aimed at barring federal student loan money from going to campus revolutionaries.

The $7.2-billion education bill, involving National Defense Education Act loans, guaranteed student loans and work-study grants, prohibits federal aid for two years to two groups of student demonstrators: those who are convicted of "use of force, disruption or the seizure of property" of a higher educational institution, and those students who "willfully refused to obey a lawful regulation" of a college or university. Individual schools, however, would decide if a student fell under these restrictions, and would grant students a hearing before denying federal aid. Thus it will be up to local citizens, state legislatures and school trustees to check that their colleges and universities are making use of these restrictions.

The extent of the conservative foreign aid victory can be glimpsed by looking at the figures involved: The Administration had requested a "bare-bones" $2.9 billion for foreign aid in fiscal 1969; Congress authorized spending only $1.97 billion; the House then actually appropriated $1.6 billion, and it is unlikely that the Senate will challenge the House-approved amount. Major cuts in the aid program were in development loan provisions (cut from $765 million to $265 million) and Alliance for Progress funds (from $625 million to $270 million).

• House conservatives won a half-way victory on another major piece of legislation, the bill to extend the present farm program. The Administration had requested a four-year extension of the basic price support and acreage allotment program. The Senate had granted LBJ's request, but the House limited the extension to one year and tacked on an amendment sponsored by Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.) placing a $20,000 ceiling on subsidies to individual farmers, a measure which would have saved the government some $209 million a year.

In conference Republican leaders agreed to abandon the fight for the $20,000 limitation in return for keeping the one-year extension provision. The conference compromise must yet come to a vote in both houses and conservatives are threatening a move to tack the $20,000 ceiling back onto the bill.

Union Officials Guilty

A federal district court in St. Louis has found Local 562 of the Steamfitters union and three of its officers guilty of conspiring to make illegal political contributions to U.S. officials, in violation of campaign spending laws. However, the court reduced the sentence from a felony to a misdemeanor.

Although the leniency was decided upon by an impartial jury, it did follow a pattern of federal officials' trepidation toward the Steamfitters case (see *Human Events*, September 14). The three union officials are all active in St. Louis Democratic politics, and all the political contributions in question went to Democratic candidates, including $140,000 to the 1964 Johnson-Humphrey campaign.

U.S. Attorney Veryl Riddle charged at the trial that the Steamfitters local had raised $1.5 million from members between 1963 and 1967 for donations to Democrats ranging from LBJ to incumbent Senators Stuart Symington (Mo.), William Proxmire (Wis.), Fred Harris (Okla.) and a handful of congressmen. The union contended the funds were raised through "voluntary contributions" from members, but the prosecutor introduced evidence that each of Local 562's 1,200 members was assessed for contributions.

The fund was presided over by 562's business manager, Lawrence Callanan, who was sentenced to 12 years in prison in 1954 for labor racketeering but had his term reduced 10 years later on order of President Johnson; the other defendants in last week's trial were John (Doc) Lawler, the union's assistant business manager and George Seaton, its vice president.

In reducing the charge to a misdemeanor, the St. Louis jury contended that the union officials' act of conspiracy "did not contemplate a willful violation of the statutes," but did not fully elaborate. The offense of which Callanan, Lawler and Seaton have now been found guilty fine each, and the union could be assessed a $5,000 fine; sentencing will take place September 27.

Although the penalty against the Steamfitters and its bosses is relatively slight, the trial did mark one of the rare instances of a labor union being charged by the federal government for violation of laws concerning labor political spending. This could mark a legal breakthrough.

SCHUYLER REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Because of requests from our readers, reprints are now available of the article by George Schuyler entitled, "Will Black 'History' Really Be Brainwashing?" which appeared in the August 24 issue. Prices: 1 copy, 25¢; 10 copies, $2; 50 copies, $9; 100 copies, $15.

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SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

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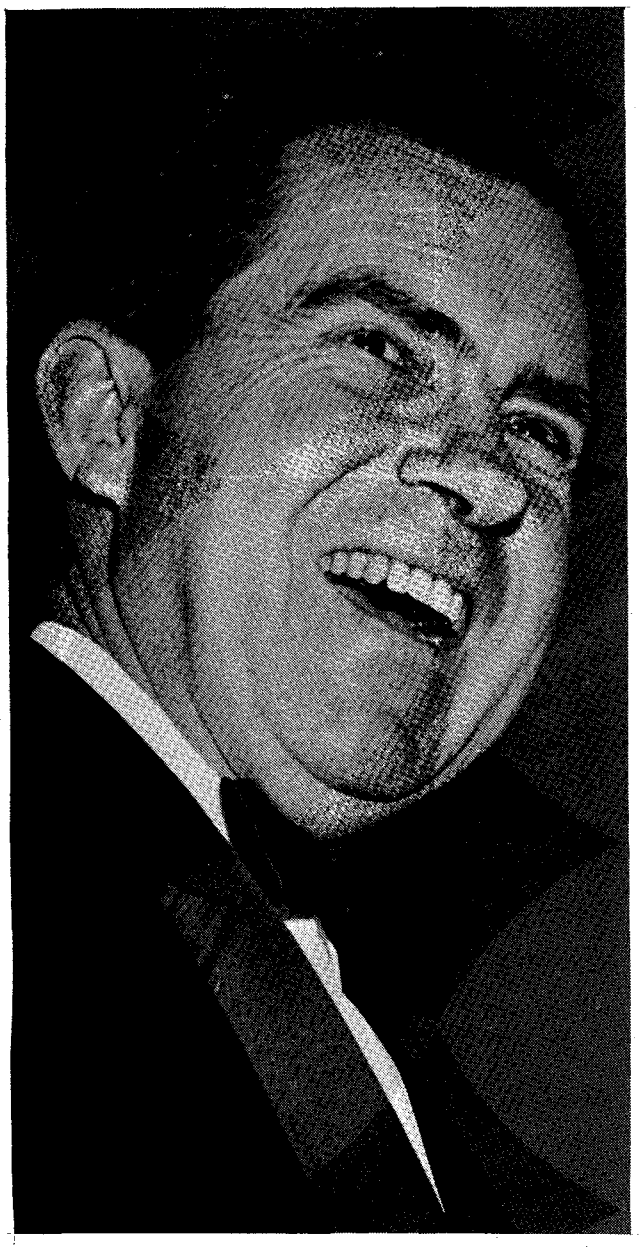

Presidential Candidates 1968

Nixon vs. Humphrey

The Men and The Issues

- Ousting Jerry Voorhis
- The Truth About the Helen Gahagan Douglas Race
- Hero of the Hiss Case
- 'Illegal Fund' Refuted
- A Working Vice President
- The 'Kitchen' Debate
- How Nixon Stands on:
  - Viet Nam
  - Law and Order
  - Student Riots
  - The Economy
  - Big Government
- Making Labor Happy
- ADA's Longtime Champion
- Is HHH Really 'Soft on Communism'?
- The Faltering 'War on Crime'
- ACA, COPE and ADA Ratings
- Spending Like Santa Claus
- How Humphrey Stands on:
  - Section 14b
  - Castro's Cuba
  - Disarmament
  - The Supreme Court
  - New Federal Programs

SPECIAL FEATURE: A Sharp Comparison of the Candidates' Differing Views—See page 2

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Policy Differences Between Nixon and Humphrey

NIXON

VIET NAM
Criticizes the military, diplomatic and economic mismanagement of the war, saying the Democratic Administration's policy of "gradualism" in each of these areas has "frittered away" our advantages. Maintains the war must be ended with honor, consistent with America's limited aims of preserving South Viet Nam's freedom and within the long-term requirements for peace in Southeast Asia. Contends inclusion of Viet Cong in peace negotiations would be "rewarding aggression" and would oppose any Saigon government which included Communist representatives. Until war is ended, it must be "waged more effectively," with South Vietnamese accepting more military and non-military responsibility.

CRIME
Restore balance between "peace forces" and "criminal forces" by (1) getting a new attorney general who believes in cracking down hard on criminals; (2) modifying Supreme Court decisions which have effectively hampered police activities in the nation; (3) enforcing punishment by limiting parole; (4) using court-approved wiretaps to combat organized crime which preys upon the poor; (5) increasing the number of police and bettering their salaries; and (6) reforms of our prisons.

DRAFT
Upon de-escalation of Viet Nam war create an all-volunteer army, a "professional military corps" to be supplemented by a "professional civilian corps."

ARMS CONTROL
Endorses the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and realizes need to halt spread of nuclear arms. However, because of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, has recommended Senate postpone ratification of treaty until Russian intentions in Eastern Europe can be reassessed.

EAST-WEST TRADE
Favors using trade as a weapon to gain concessions from the Communists. Currently opposes extension of aid or trade credits to any nation, including Russia, that supplies North Viet Nam or participates in such oppressive Communist excursions as the recent Czech invasion. Also, foreign ships which have carried goods to North Viet Nam should be "barred from entry into our harbors." Also favors increased restrictions on Castro's Cuba.

DEFENSE
The U.S. must maintain a strategic superiority to enable it to deal from a position of strength in maintaining peace. Research and development of new weaponry must be aggressively pursued and an anti-ballistic missile system must be built "at all costs."

FOREIGN AID
Charges that the present aid program has failed to prevent the spread of communism and that no "foreign aid program can be justified unless it serves political ends." Would put greater emphasis on military aid to nations whose security is threatened and use economic aid to assist other nations develop private enterprise systems. Advocates major reorganization of aid program with U.S. reducing its share and other Western nations, "strong enough to pay their fair share," taking up the difference.

U.S.S. PUEBLO
Has accused the Administration of committing an "incredible blunder" in allowing North Korea ("a fourth-rate power") to seize a U.S. vessel and get away with it. Avows "we need make no apology for the **Pueblo**'s presence . . ." off North Korea.

AGRICULTURE
"Improve market prices and strengthen our market economy so farmers and ranchers will be able to prosper in relation to the prices they must pay for other products." Take "new look" at price-support programs. Selective use of tariffs to protect American-made products.

URBAN PROBLEMS
Promotion of "black capitalism" through enlistment of private enterprise, using tax credits as incentives, in an imaginative approach to solving ghetto problems; opposes continued use of federal hand-out programs, undeliverable federal promises and the bureaucratic approach to urban ills. Private job-training should replace demeaning welfare dole.

ECONOMIC POLICY
Stop inflation and restore international standing of the dollar through federal fiscal responsibility and deferment of non-essential spending. Use tax credits to get private businesses to invest in job training and building programs; continue the oil depletion allowance.

EDUCATION
Channel federal aid through block grants to states. Maintain local and state control over implementation of educational policies; do not use federal educational funds as a whip to force integration except in extreme cases, where rigid segregation exists.

GUN CONTROL
Licensing and registration of firearms and gun owners is a matter for the states. Feels mandatory sentences for criminals possessing or using firearms in committing a crime would be more effective.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS
Supports retention of Taft-Hartley Section 14b and urges a reappraisal of labor legislation to see if delicate adjustments in power balance are needed to protect the consumer.

SUPREME COURT
Believes recent court decisions involving "rights of the accused" have impeded effective law enforcement. Suggests that court concentrate on interpreting laws, rather than making them.

HUMPHREY

VIET NAM
Describes himself as a "loyal supporter" of Administration's Viet Nam policy, saying this course is "basically sound." Recently said, however, he could have run on dove platform rejected by Democrats at Chicago convention. That platform called for (1) an unconditional end to the U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam; (2) a decrease in offensive operations in the south; and (3) encouragement of the South Vietnamese government to negotiate with Communist insurgents (i.e., the Viet Cong).

CRIME
Emphasizes eradicating the "root causes" of social injustice, which, he claims, are the result of "centuries of indifference and neglect." Is for increased federal aid for police training and law enforcement programs. But has also stoutly defended Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark and the Supreme Court, assailing those attacking the Supreme Court as doing "a great disservice" to the country, and refused to say in his 84-point crime program whether he would use court-approved wiretaps to combat organized crime.

DRAFT
Change the present draft system to create a lottery pool of selection, with the youngest draftees called first. Also develop an alternative national service corps to supplement the draft; opposes all-volunteer army concept.

ARMS CONTROL
Says the Senate should immediately ratify the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, which he describes as being "our child, our dream, our proposal." Believes the "greater tension" created by the Soviet Czech invasion makes arms control all the more necessary and views negotiations on this matter to be "much more vital" for peace than the fight against communism in Southeast Asia. In previous years, Humphrey has vigorously fought for uninspected arms agreements with the Soviets.

EAST-WEST TRADE
Vigorously advocates increased trade with Communist nations, including Red China. Such trade, further, should be backed up by U.S. government credits. In addition, favors channelling U.S. aid to Red nations through agencies such as the United Nations Development Program. Has not come out for any economic sanctions against Communist countries for invading Czechoslovakia or aiding North Viet Nam. Humphrey has also indicated he may favor lowering trade restrictions against Castro.

DEFENSE
Although recognizing the need to combat Communist expansion, the U.S. should seek only a "nuclear parity" with the Soviet Union. Believes only disarmament, not military power, will create lasting security and that, to this end, the U.S. must convince the USSR that mutual deployment of an anti-ballistic missile system would make neither side secure.

FOREIGN AID
Contends the U.S. must set as "a high priority the closing of the gap between the rich and the poor nations" because it has "a special obligation" to poor countries. Thereby the "rich nations" should double their aid to developing countries in a multilateral effort directed through international development banks; meanwhile, only limited bilateral programs would continue. Has pledged a "Great Society for Asia" through such programs.

U.S.S. PUEBLO
Has continually held out hope that the ship and its crewmen were about to be returned; all such predictions were quashed. Agrees that the U.S. has done nothing to justify an apology to North Korea.

AGRICULTURE
Maintain current program of price supports and production controls. Praises conduct of Secretary Orville Freeman. Opposes use of tariffs, excepting in extreme cases.

URBAN PROBLEMS
Implement suggestions of Kerner Commission Riot Report in a multi-billion-dollar "Marshall Plan for the Cities" of extended federal programs. Use revenues of income tax surcharge to finance urban programs; does not rely on private enterprise to do the job. Wants full federal funding of all welfare programs and considers guaranteed income for the unemployed.

ECONOMIC POLICY
Maintain current spending level, even with the cessation of the Viet Nam war; extra funds would then be used for urban programs. Opposes federal budget limitations and downplays effectiveness of tax credits; calls for the elimination of the oil depletion allowance.

EDUCATION
Federal educational aid should be controlled from Washington and funds should be used to implement full integration of schools. Advocates a national standard for teacher salaries as part of an "educational minimum wage." Says federal aid to education is now only a question of "how much and what kind."

GUN CONTROL
Congress should regulate licensing and registration of firearms and gun owners, unless every state adopts a strong gun law.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS
Advocates repeal of 14b and legalization of situs picketing, and opposes all measures aimed at curbing labor power as "profoundly reactionary" and "punitive." Has defended wage increases that have violated Administration guidelines on the ground that some industries are over-productive.

SUPREME COURT
Gives full support to all past court decisions dealing with "rights of the accused" and defends court from all attacks on its decision. Has suggested, however, that court "temper its activities" or else it will lose respect.

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Richard Nixon: Republican Candidate

Richard Milhous Nixon was born on a lemon farm in Yorba Linda, Calif., on Jan. 9, 1913.

Both his parents, Francis A. and Hannah Milhous, were descended from early American stock which had migrated to New England from Ireland before the American Revolution. They later moved on to the West Coast by way of Ohio and Indiana.

When he was nine years old his family moved to Whittier, Calif., where his father ran a general store and a filling station. Dick did his part by clerking in the store and keeping the books.

Working his way through a small Quaker institution, Whittier College, Nixon graduated second in his class with honors in 1934. He then received a scholarship to Duke University Law School at Durham, N.C., where he finished third in his class and again graduated with honors in 1937.

Nixon then returned to his home town of Whittier, where he practiced law for four and a half years.

When World War II broke out, Nixon, as with many Quakers, could have exercised his constitutional right to be a conscientious objector and be deferred from active military service. However, in August 1942 he chose to enter the U.S. Navy as a lieutenant (junior grade) and served mostly in the Pacific theater rising to lieutenant commander by the time he was discharged in January 1946.

At the very end of his service career, while completing his duties with the Navy in Baltimore, Md., Nixon received a phone call from a banker friend in California asking if he would be interested in appearing before a citizens committee searching for a congressional candidate. Nixon flew to California, explained to the committee that among other things he stood for "a return to individual freedoms and all that private initiative can produce." The committee liked what they saw and heard and gave Nixon their backing.

Richard Nixon and his running mate, Maryland's Gov. Spiro Agnew, hit the campaign trail in Texas, one of the states the GOP ticket hopes to capture in November.

From the Navy to Congress

On March 19, 1946, Nixon filed in both the Democratic and Republican primaries against his liberal opponent, incumbent Rep. Jerry Voorhis, a man who the professionals labeled unbeatable. (Under California's system at that time, cross-filing was a standard operating procedure; the idea was that each candidate tried to knock out his opposition in the primaries by capturing both party nominations.)

In his speeches throughout the campaign, Nixon stressed and accentuated the Socialist and ultra-left-wing background of his opponent.

Voorhis considered himself to be a "Christian Socialist" (whatever that means), and he had in fact been a registered member of the Socialist party before the New Deal absorbed its program. He had entered politics as an EPIC (End Poverty in California) man under the guidance of Upton Sinclair.

Voorhis' constituents did not know that he fought to socialize the Federal Reserve or that he advocated nationalization of the oil industry.

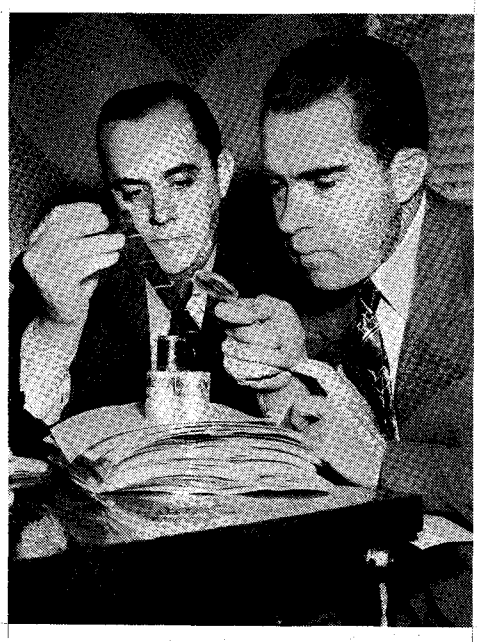
As for the Communist issue and the use of it against Voorhis, Nixon pointed out that "communism was not the issue at any time during the 1946 campaign. Few people knew about communism then and even fewer cared."

The thing that gutted five-term Congressman Voorhis was the series of five debates in which he appeared with Nixon. Voorhis, by his own admission, was "dull" while Nixon, the skilled debater, was able to get his points and positions across forcefully.

When the votes were counted on November 5, Nixon was the new congressman by a margin of 15,592 votes.

Again through the cross-filing procedure, Nixon in 1948 won both parties' nominations and was re-elected to the House by 141,509 votes.

As a freshman congressman, Nixon took assignments on the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Education and Labor Committee and



Nixon as a congressman soon established a reputation as a legislator who did his homework.

immediately got into the fray on two controversial measures, the Taft-Hartley Act and the Subversive Activities Control Act.

Convinced that the Wagner Act badly needed amending and being interested in the rights of the individual union member, Nixon, who helped write the bill, defended Taft-Hartley on the floor of the House and fought strongly and vociferously for its passage.

The Taft-Hartley Act, among other things, provides for a cooling off period of from 60 to 80 days before a strike or lockout can be resorted to and requires officers of unions to file affidavits that they are not members of the Communist party.

In the field of anti-subversive legislation, Nixon helped Sen. Karl Mundt of South Dakota write a bill to require Communist-front organizations to register with the attorney general. The bill was later incorporated into the Internal Security Act passed by the 81st Congress.

Nixon was also a part of a select committee to study the Marshall Plan and on this mission learned perhaps the most important purpose of foreign aid. Four years later, speaking of his visit to Greece, he said, "There was no more corrupt or unstable government in the world than the government of Greece, but we recognized that it was a question of the Greek government or something worse, and we gave the Greek government the assistance which enabled it to defeat the Communists."

While all these accomplishments by Nixon were significant, none was to alter the course of his career like his involvement with an ex-member of the Communist party and a high official of the U.S. State Department.

Hero of the Hiss Case

The one act of Richard Nixon that it seems the liberals will never forgive is the key role that he played in sending Alger Hiss to prison.

Nixon has been told that his role in the Hiss case was responsible both for his going on the ticket with Ike in 1952 (Ike introduced Nixon to the Republican National Convention as "a man who has a special talent and an ability to ferret out any kind of subversive influence wherever it may be found, and the strength and persistence to get rid of it") and for his not being elected to the presidency in 1960.

But regardless of which of these statements seems to be the most accurate the undeniable fact is that Nixon's role in the Hiss case catapulted him into the national spotlight.

The Hiss case began for Dick Nixon on a warm, humid Washington morning—Tuesday, Aug. 3, 1948—in the Ways and Means Committee hearing room of the New House Office Building.

The witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, of which Nixon was a freshman member, was one David Whittaker Chambers. An ex-member of the Communist party and an extremely lackluster witness, he had been called to corroborate testimony given three days earlier by Elizabeth Bentley, who had named several high government officials as members of a Soviet spy ring. As a part of his testimony, Chambers named Alger Hiss as one of four members of a Communist underground group whose purpose it was, not to carry out espionage but rather "Communist infiltration of the government."

Hiss at this time was a high State Department official who had had responsibility for organizing the Dumbarton Oaks world monetary conferences, the U.S. side of the Yalta conference and the San Francisco meeting at which the U.N. Charter was written and adopted.

A few days later Hiss appeared before the committee to categorically deny everything Chambers had charged. He was not a Communist, he said, and had never been one. Furthermore, and these are Hiss' exact words, he had never known "a man by the name of Whittaker Chambers."

When Hiss stepped off the stand, members of the committee, close friends and much of the press rushed to shake his hand. All were convinced that Hiss was right and Chambers was wrong—all, that is, except Dick Nixon.

At odds with most of the other members of the committee which shortly met in secret session, Nixon argued forcefully against turning over the case to the Justice Department for prosecution. To do so, he felt, would be to destroy it for good.

Nixon was intrigued by the fact that Hiss had never stated flatly that he had never known Whittaker Chambers. He had always qualified his answers by saying that he had never known a man "named Whittaker Chambers." He argued that while it would be virtually impossible to prove whether or not Hiss was or was not a Communist—since it would be Chambers' word against Hiss'—it should be possible to establish by corroborative testimony whether or not the two men knew each other.

After the committee had talked again

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Whittaker Chambers, who blew the whistle on State Department worker Alger Hiss, goes over newspaper accounts of the conspiracy with Nixon and House Committee on Un-American Activities investigator Robert Stripling. Chambers' testimony was to prove decisive in the eventual conviction of Hiss for perjury.

with each man separately behind closed doors, Nixon decided that the obvious thing to do was to arrange a confrontation. The meeting took place in the Commodore Hotel in New York and after a half hour of skillful questioning, Nixon got Hiss to admit that he had known Chambers but under the name "George Crosley." The veneer was beginning to crack and Dick Nixon was the one driving in the wedge.

What followed was another public committee hearing with Hiss admitting that he had known Chambers as "Crosley." Cornered, Hiss began to panic. He hedged on questions, he argued semantics, he even denied what the transcript showed him to previously have said. This was the beginning of the end and it had been largely brought about by the dogged persistence of Richard Nixon.

Then late in September, Hiss set in motion a series of events which was to ultimately result in his imprisonment: He sued Whittaker Chambers for calling him a "Communist" on a nationally broadcast news program.

On November 17, after being challenged by Hiss' lawyers to present documentary proof of his allegations, Chambers produced four memoranda in Hiss' handwriting, eight pages in Harry Dexter White's writing and a thick pile of secret State Department documents which had been copied on Hiss' typewriter in 1938. On that same day, Alex Campbell, head of the Justice Department's Criminal Division, was summoned by counsel for both sides. The documents, clear evidence of espionage, were turned over to him and the principals in the case were sworn to secrecy.

On a vacation cruise ship in the Caribbean at the time, Nixon received a wireless message on December 1 telling him of the new developments and of the possibility that the Justice Department was considering dropping the whole Hiss-Chambers matter.

On December 2 Chambers was served with a subpoena requiring him to deliver any other evidence in his possession to the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

On December 3 the Justice Department subpoenaed Chambers to appear before a hastily convened grand jury in New York.

On December 5 Nixon was picked up at sea by a Coast Guard plane and flown back to Washington where he immediately began lighting a fire under the Justice Department.

On December 6 Nixon conferred with top officials at the State Department who agreed that publication of the documents given by Hiss to Chambers, even though they were 10 years old, would still endanger the national security.

That same afternoon Nixon and some other members of the committee rushed to New York to question Chambers but were intercepted at the station by members of the Justice Department who pleaded in a heated session that no public action be taken. The committee finally agreed, but Nixon warned that new hearings would be held unless the department acted quickly.

On December 7 the State Department officials to whom Nixon had spoken appeared before the committee and testified as to the importance of the documents Hiss had given Chambers. They agreed that the material would certainly have allowed the Russians to break the U.S. diplomatic code.

On December 9 President Truman for the umpteenth time referred to the whole episode as a "red herring."

On December 10 the grand jury prepared to drop its inquiry and to start an attack on the committee. Nixon took countermeasures to guard against a whitewash, something he feared all along.

On December 13 the FBI came up with evidence of Hiss' guilt so conclusive that it could not be ignored: proof that the documents passed to Chambers had been typed on Hiss' Woodstock typewriter.

On December 15 Hiss was indicted for perjury on two counts: One, that he had lied when he had testified that he had not unlawfully removed copies of numerous secret, confidential and restricted documents from the State Department in February and March 1938, and given them to one David Whittaker Chambers; and two, that he had willfully and knowingly lied when he had testified that he had not seen Chambers after Jan. 1, 1937.

After six postponements and one hung jury, Hiss was found guilty on both counts on Jan. 21, 1950, and was sentenced to five years in prison.

What did the Hiss case mean? Nixon answered this question in his book *Six Crises*: "The Hiss case aroused the nation for the first time to the existence and character of the Communist conspiracy within the United States. It focused attention sharply on the conspiratorial aspects of the party. The prevailing opinion in the country prior to the Hiss-Chambers case was probably that the Communists were nothing but a handful of noisy but relatively harmless left-wingers attempting to exercise their rights of free speech and political action. . . ."

"The Hiss case, for the first time, forcibly demonstrated to the American people that domestic communism was a real and present danger to the security of the nation."

And the man behind that forcible demonstration was Richard Nixon. As ex-President Herbert Hoover was to telegraph Nixon after it was all over: "The conviction of Alger Hiss was due to your patience and persistence alone. At last the stream of treason that existed in our government has been exposed in a fashion that all may believe."

Battling Helen Gahagan Douglas

With his role in the Hiss case bringing him national prominence, the next logical step was for Dick Nixon to try for a seat in the U.S. Senate. And in 1949 he took that step.

On Nov. 3, 1949, Nixon announced his candidacy and declared that the issue, as he saw it, was "simply the choice between freedom and state socialism." Blasting the leftward leanings of both the national and California Democratic parties, Nixon said that if Andrew Jackson and Thomas Jefferson could see "the phony doctrines and ideologies now being foisted on the American people they would turn over in their grave. . . . Call it planned economy, the Fair Deal or social welfare—but it is still the same old Socialist baloney any way you slice it."

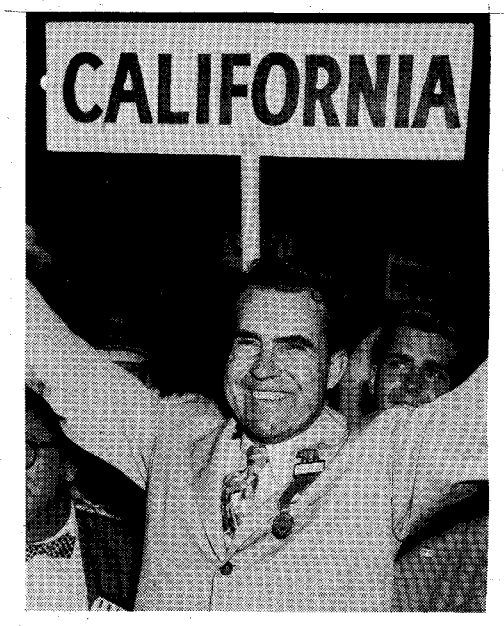
It was this campaign against House incumbent Helen Gahagan Douglas that brought about the charges of "dirty tactics" for which Dick Nixon has been criticized. Ironically, the majority of Red-baiting and personal invective originated with members of Mrs. Douglas' own party, not Nixon.

In one of the earliest and strongest attacks, incumbent Democratic Sen. Sheridan Downey declared in a statewide radio broadcast that Mrs. Douglas "gave comfort to the Soviet tyranny by voting against aid to Greece and Turkey," "that she opposed an appropriation to enable Congress to uncover treasonable Communist activities" and that in this she "joined Rep. Vito Marcantonio, an admitted friend of the Communist party."

As a matter of fact, it was the Democrats for Nixon who performed one of the most valuable services of the campaign: drawing up a list of Communist-front affiliations of Mrs. Douglas.

Nixon opened his campaign with a speech which established the line that Mrs. Douglas' record in Congress "discloses the truth about her soft attitude toward communism." Mrs. Douglas countered by accusing Nixon of being one of the most "reactionary" men in Congress. She also spoke of Nixon and his backers as a "backwash of young men in dark shirts," a clear reference to the early days of the Hitler youth movement.

It was as Dick Nixon described it, a "rocking, rolling" senatorial campaign. And when all was said and done, Nixon had beaten Helen Gahagan Douglas by better than 682,000 votes and was the new U.S. senator from California.



Nixon's hard-fought campaign against Helen Gahagan Douglas helped him get the No. 2 spot on the 1952 GOP ticket.

A Senator Goes on the Ticket

In the two years that he was in the Senate, corruption in government and the war in Korea were to occupy most of Richard Nixon's attention in the 82nd Congress.

In a speech before the Women's National Republican Club in February 1951, Nixon excoriated the policies of Secretary of State Dean Acheson, policies which he felt had brought on the war. He ridiculed the State Department's ambivalent attitude toward communism and called for full participation by the United Nations in the conflict. He asked for a U.N. embargo on Red China and also asked that it be branded an aggressor in the war.

As the youngest GOP member of the U.S. Senate, Nixon was the sponsor of several measures, among them:

- A bill to make it a violation of law for any officer of the federal government to dismiss or otherwise discipline a government employe for testifying before a congressional committee (this bill never became law, but if it had it would have prevented the State Department from taking the type of action that it has against Otto Otepka, former chief of security who testified before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee and for this lost his job).
- A bill to suspend the statute of limi-

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tations on offenses by government officials (this bill never became law either but if it had, Alger Hiss would have been prosecutable for espionage instead of merely perjury).

• A Senate Resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that President Truman did not act in the best interests of the people in relieving Gen. Douglas MacArthur of his command.

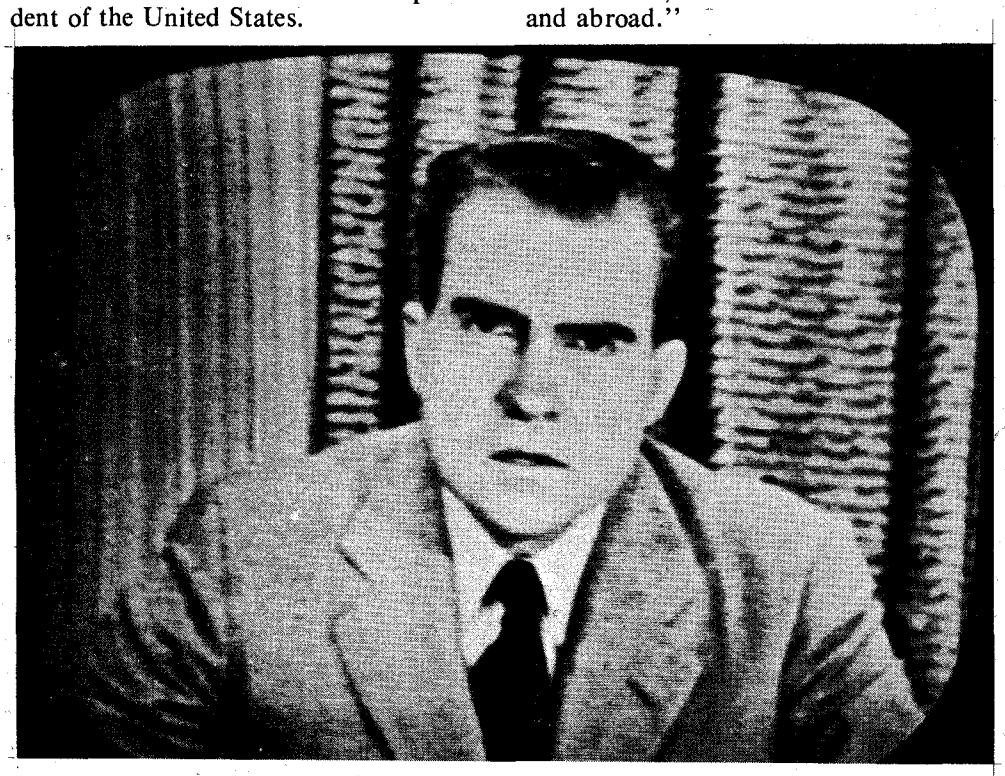
• A Senate Joint Resolution, the same as the Bricker Amendment, to amend the U.S. Constitution by requiring that a treaty must be in accordance with the Constitution, and that the treaty could become effective only through legislation that would be valid if there were no treaty.

When Richard Nixon arrived in Chicago on July 1, 1952, for the Republican National Convention, he was the junior senator from California and but one of 70 delegates pledged by law to then Gov. Earl Warren. When he left the Windy City a few days later, he was the GOP candidate for vice president of the United States.

Reluctant to make a suggestion himself for his mate on the ticket, because he had been out of the country for two years at NATO, Ike drew up a list of seven choices and presented it to Herb Brownell. Brownell presented the list to some two dozen top Eisenhower backers and, after considering the other six and eliminating them for one reason or another, they gave their verdict: Nixon's the one.

Two weeks after the nomination, Ike and Nixon formulated their strategy for the campaign (a strategy, incidentally, which Nixon and Agnew seem to be sticking pretty close to now): Mr. Eisenhower would stress the moral and positive side of the campaign issues in his crusade, while Nixon would hammer away at the flaws and the weaknesses of the Democrats in general and the party nominee in particular.

The issues were to be "the Truman record" (the Democratic nominee Adlai Stevenson bore the unshakable imprimatur of HST) and "communism at home and abroad."



After charges were raised about an $18,000 "slush fund" for Nixon, the candidate took to the airwaves to refute the accusations. Nixon successfully defended himself and made his dog, Checkers, the most famous pet since FDR's Fala.

'Secret Fund' Charges Refuted

The campaign had barely got under way when the first of the hatchet jobs on Nixon began.

On Sept. 18, 1952, the front page of the left-wing New York *Post* screamed "Secret Nixon Fund." For those hungry for more dirt, page 2 told them "Secret Rich Men's Trust Fund Keeps Nixon in Style Beyond His Salary." The story went on to tell of a "millionaires' club" which had collected $18,000 for a "slush fund for Nixon's financial comfort." Unfortunately, the story as related in the New York *Post* bore little relation to the facts of the situation and this particular swipe was, as *Look* magazine was to later note, the beginning of "a smear campaign without parallel."

The facts of the matter are that there was indeed a Nixon fund set up, but it was strictly to defray the expenses of such things as transportation and hotel costs, long distance phone calls, dissemination of speeches and the sending of Christmas cards. There was no personal use of the money whatsoever.

The fund was set up by a close friend of Nixon's, a trust fund was opened and audits were scheduled. The money was very openly solicited by telephone, personal contact and even by circulars sent through the mails. There was nothing secret at all about it.

(Many politicians, of course, raise money to meet heavy expenses in the manner that Nixon did. Following close on the "disclosure" of the Nixon fund, in fact, the Chicago *Tribune* revealed that Adlai Stevenson, then the Democratic nominee for President, had been secretly soliciting money from businessmen doing business with the state while he was governor of Illinois.)

A few days after the story by the New York *Post* and amid the growing number of papers and people hollering for his scalp, Nixon called Ike and volunteered to resign from the ticket if it looked like the campaign was going to be jeopardized. Eisenhower had not yet made up his mind and wanted to wait and see what all the facts were.

The next day a strategy meeting was called among party leaders and it was decided to put Nixon on national radio and TV hook-up so that he could tell the true story of the fund.

On September 23 Dick Nixon looked into the television camera at some 55 million people and told it like it was: "My fellow Americans, I come before you tonight as a candidate for the vice presidency . . . and as a man whose honesty and integrity has been questioned. . . . I say it was morally wrong if any of that $18,000 went to Senator Nixon for my personal use. I say it was morally wrong if it was secretly given and secretly handled. And I say it was morally wrong if any of the contributors got any special favors for the contributions which they made. . . .

"Not one cent of the $18,000 or any other money of that type ever went to me for my personal use. . . . Let me point out, and I want to make this perfectly clear, that no contributor to any of my campaigns has ever received any consideration that he would not have received as an ordinary constituent. . . ."

Nixon then went on to detail his own personal finances: everything he had earned, everything he had spent and everything he owed.

He noted that his wife did not own a mink coat but that she did have a "respectable Republican cloth coat." He related how a man in Texas had crated up a small black and white dog and shipped it, as a gift, when he heard Nixon's wife mention in a radio broadcast that the children wanted a dog. "And our little girl—Tricia, the six-year-old—named it Checkers. . . . And you know the kids love that dog and . . . we're going to keep it."

Nixon ended his talk by saying that he was leaving the decision of whether or not he was staying on the ticket up to the Republican National Committee. He urged people watching to write the committee and let them know how they felt.

And write they did. The academicians and the press sophisticates thought the Nixon performance corny and maudlin, but over two million letters and telegrams flooded the Republican National Committee—350 to 1 in Nixon's favor.

Eisenhower's response came the very next day. "I have seen many brave men in tough situations," said Ike. "I have never seen any come through in such fashion as Senator Nixon did. . . . I happen to be one of those people when I get in a fight, I would rather have a courageous and honest man by my side than a whole box-car full of pussyfoots."

Nixon stayed on the ticket.

A Busy, Traveling Veep

As the second youngest vice president in history, Richard Nixon operated for the first two years under a self-imposed silence. But even though silent, it was obvious Eisenhower had great trust in Nixon and that the office of vice president was given duties more far-reaching than ever before in history.

At the very beginning of his Administration, Ike had announced that in his absences from Washington Nixon would preside over all National Security Council meetings—a privilege previously assumed by the secretary of state. The President also directed that the Cabinet would continue to meet when he was not in Washington—with Nixon in charge.

On matters dealing with national security Nixon was a hard-liner and in council meetings stressed the importance of maintaining strong military defenses even at the expense of an unbalanced budget. He warned constantly of the Soviet threat when other Cabinet members started to pooh-pooh it. He spoke out against the doctrine of "coexistence" which he realized was a maneuver aimed at lulling this nation into a series of diplomatic defeats. Nixon also energetically opposed the admission of Red China to the U.N.

Nixon also served as the head of two inter-governmental bodies: the President's Committee on Government Contracts, concerning equality in employment, and the Cabinet Committee on Price Stability and Economic Growth.

As presiding officer of the U.S. Senate for eight years, Nixon cast more tie-breaking votes than any other vice president. One, a vote for state's rights, Nixon supported an amendment to the 1956 Highway Act to provide that state highway departments, rather than the secretary of labor, should determine locally prevailing wages to be paid workers employed on construction of the Interstate Highway System.

As a personal emissary of the President, Vice President Nixon visited 56 countries on five continents and traveled some 160,000 miles. His most widely publicized trips were undoubtedly his trip to Latin America in 1958, where he and his wife were rescued from Communist-led and anti-American mobs seeking to kill them, and his trip to the Soviet Union, where he engaged in his famous "kitchen debate" with Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev.

The trip to the Soviet Union was planned not to set the stage for any debate but merely for Vice President Nixon to open the American National Exhibition at Sokolniki Park in Moscow.

The first sparks began to fly when Nixon and Khrushchev paused beside an American model home exhibit. Khrushchev found it hard to believe that Americans lived in the type of house being exhibited. Nixon assured him that this type of home (an average $14,000 house) was within the budget

In the celebrated encounter with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in 1959, Nixon argued with the Red leader in a face-to-face meeting which drew world attention.

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range of the average veteran and could be paid for over a period of 25 to 30 years. The conversation went on, each needling the other, and covered everything from construction work in America to leisure time for women.

A day or so later, after the Soviet press began publicizing some of his remarks, Nixon noticed the addition of a "spontaneous" heckler at most all gatherings.

At the Ob River Dam, near Novosibirsk, a "worker" asked, "Why do you encircle us with bases?"

Nixon: When we both agree on disarmament proposals with adequate inspection, then we can take up the question of bases. Now, I'd like to ask you a question.

Worker: I'm not satisfied with your answer.

Nixon: Tell me where the troops of the Red Army are. The Soviet Union also has bases in foreign countries.

Worker: That's a lie.

Nixon: What about East Germany? What about Hungary? What about Poland? Why do you keep troops there?

Worker: We have no troops there.

Nixon: Is Poland your country? Is Hungary your country? Why do you keep troops there?

Worker: There are American and Western troops in Germany and the Soviet has to maintain forces for that reason.

Nixon: You always have a reason. . . . Workers of all countries must look carefully at the policy of their governments as well as the policy of others.

Nixon returned to Washington on Aug. 5, 1959, with his wife Pat at his side. He had completed a tough assignment and crossed swords with the Butcher of Budapest. But his hardest task lay ahead—the task of seeking the presidency.

1960: Close, But No White House

The first vice president to win his party's nomination in 124 years, Richard Nixon was nominated for the presidency in Chicago on July 27, 1960. Choosing Henry Cabot Lodge as his running mate, Nixon defended the Eisenhower years rigorously. Emphasizing his commitment to "fiscal responsibility," Nixon charged that if Democratic promises were put into action $18 billion would be added to the budget.

When the campaign began, the Republican party held fewer House and Senate seats and gubernatorial chairs than in any presidential election year in three decades. Only in 1936, when the GOP candidate carried just two states, did a GOP presidential candidate ever enter a campaign with his party's strength at such a low ebb.

Despite two weeks spent in the hospital in the midst of the campaign to nurse a knee injury, Vice President Nixon, for the first time in history, campaigned in every state of the Union. The decision to do this was later regretted and is not being repeated this year; so much traveling was physically exhausting and prevented the candidate from concentrating on the most promising states.

When the votes were finally tabulated, the vice president had carried 26 states, Sen. John Kennedy 23 (Mississippi did not vote for either) and Kennedy's popular plurality amounted to one-tenth of 1 per cent of the vote. In terms of the crucial electoral vote, Kennedy won 303 to 220 and was elected President.

Nixon was defeated by the smallest vote margin in the 20th Century—112,803. And actually the record on this is unclear. The 112,803 Kennedy plurality assumes he won the 318,303 votes in Alabama; in fact, that was the vote for the 11-man Democratic presidential elector slate that was split five for Kennedy, six for Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia. A proportionate division of the Alabama Democratic vote gives Kennedy only 147,295 votes from the state and makes Nixon the winner in the national popular vote by a plurality of 58,181 votes.

Although the vice president had lost the election, his name at the top of the ticket brought into office 21 more Republicans in the House of Representatives and two more in the U.S. Senate. But just as important, in state races Nixon's coattails dragged in enough Republicans in seven states to sweep both Houses of the state legislatures from the Democrats and added a single House in six more.

Where Nixon had run 5 per cent ahead of the GOP congressional candidates, Kennedy had trailed his congressional colleagues by more than 5 per cent.

Planning for the '68 Campaign

In 1962 Nixon ran for governor in California and lost to the popular incumbent, Pat Brown, by nearly 300,000 votes. Nixon had failed in his attempt to set up a base from which to try for the presidential nomination in 1964.

In May 1963 Nixon left California and joined the New York law firm of Mudge, Stern, Baldwin and Todd.

In 1964 when Barry Goldwater was nominated for the presidency, Richard Nixon once again hit the campaign trail. Traveling more than 50,000 miles in 35 states and making more than 150 speeches for the GOP ticket and GOP candidates, Nixon campaigned harder for Goldwater than Goldwater did. His efforts, which undoubtedly buoyed Republican candidates for lesser office, stood in stark contrast to those of the liberal party leaders who found it more expedient to remain in their home states.

Again in the congressional election year of 1966, Richard Nixon was the lone big-name Republican campaigning across the country. He visited 35 congressional districts that were also visited by either Bobby or Teddy Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey or President Johnson. Of those 35 districts where Nixon was matched against top Democrats, the Republicans won 27. That's a batting average of .800. In the 13 congressional districts where only Nixon and Bobby Kennedy campaigned, the Republicans won nine.

As Warren Weaver of the New York *Times* wrote at the time, "Hard statistics show that a GOP House for whom Nixon did not campaign stood only à 45 per cent chance of winning, while a man he embraced stood a 67 per cent chance. It is hard to knock a coach who raises the team average that much."

This is what the term "coattails" means and Dick Nixon has demonstrated that he has them.

Following the 1966 elections, Nixon announced a six-month moratorium on his political activity and plans to travel. His trips in 1967 took him to South America, Asia, Europe and Africa. He made numerous references to U.S. foreign policy and was received by the heads of state of most of the countries he visited.

On his third trip to Moscow, Kremlin leaders denied Nixon a meeting with them. (Undoubtedly not wanting a repeat performance of Nixon's put-down of Khrushchev in 1959.) On this decision Nixon commented to reporters, "Apparently, a government without an opposition is not willing to recognize the opposition party in another country."

This background of strong party loyalty paid off in 1968. Nominated on the first ballot in Miami, Fla., Dick Nixon is once again seeking the presidency of the United States. Whether or not he achieves it will not, of course, be decided until November 5. But one thing is certain: he has come a long way since he first saw the light of day on a lemon farm in Yorba Linda, Calif.

Richard Nixon Speaks Out on the Issues

Operating under a self-imposed moratorium on discussions of the war in order, as he puts it, to give the Paris peace talks a chance to succeed, Nixon has had very little to say on this subject since last April when the talks began.

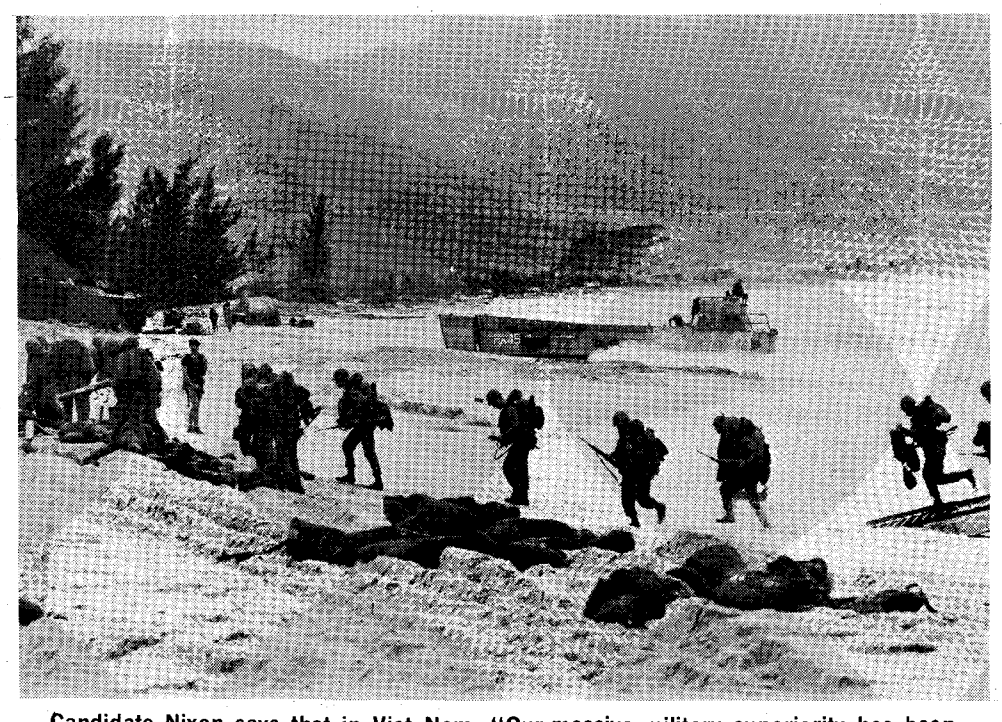
However, following President Johnson's partial bombing halt and peace overtures Nixon did issue a statement on the war which said in part: "Like every American, I hope for an early and honorable settlement of this war. . . . In my judgment, a bombing halt by itself would not be a step toward peace. . . . However, let us bear in mind two cautions: First, the lesson of Korea, where most U.S. casualties were sustained after peace talks began; as the North Vietnamese themselves have said, 'Fighting while negotiating is aimed at opening another front.' And second, let us remember the larger context in which the war in Viet Nam is being fought, and its larger purposes. It has been a war not for the freedom and independence of South Viet Nam alone, but to make possible the conditions of a wider and durable peace. A settlement in Viet Nam which would encourage further aggression by its weaknesses would betray these larger purposes, and would thus render futile the terrible costs already sustained. . . .

"This is a time for both hope and realism—a time to explore every avenue toward settlement, but at the same time, to keep up our guard against the temptations of a camouflaged surrender."

In a statement on August 1 of this year to the Committee on Resolutions of the Republican National Convention, Nixon listed some specific criticisms of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's conduct of the war in Viet Nam: "Our massive military superiority has been wasted, our options frittered away, by applying power so gradually as to be ineffective. The swift, overwhelming blow that would have been decisive two or three years ago is no longer possible today. Instead we find we have been locked into a massive, grinding war of attrition.

"The Administration has done far too little, too late, to train and equip the South Vietnamese, both for fighting their own war now and for the task of defending their own country after the war is settled.

"The Administration has either not recognized that this is a new and more complex kind of war, or has not seen its significance. The result is that the old-style, conventional military aspects have been over-emphasized, and its other dimensions—psychological, political, economic, even diplomatic—have gotten too little attention.



Candidate Nixon says that in Viet Nam, "Our massive military superiority has been wasted, our options frittered away. . . .We find we have been locked into a massive, grinding war of attrition." Above, Marines land at Da Nang in 1965, a critical date in the Viet Nam war, which has now cost over 200,000 U.S. casualities.

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"The Administration has failed in candor at home and in leadership abroad. By not taking the American people into its confidence, the Administration has lost their confidence. Its diplomacy has failed to enlist other nations to use their influence toward achieving a peaceful settlement.

"These are the failures of the past.... If the talks fail or drag on indefinitely, new approaches both to the conduct of the war and to the search for peace will be needed. . . .

"The fact is that our men have not been out-fought; the Administration has been out-thought. . . .

"If the war is still going on next January, it can best be ended by a new administration that has given no hostages to the mistakes of the past; an administration neither defending old errors nor bound by the old record."

Law and Order

In a nationwide radio broadcast March 7 of this year, Richard Nixon rejected any compromise with the forces of disorder and let people know exactly where he stood regarding those people fomenting riots and disaster in our cities.

"We have been amply warned," said Nixon, "that we face the prospect of a war in the making in our own society . . . we must take the warnings to heart and prepare to meet force with force if necessary, making it abundantly clear that these preparations are made

During the former vice president's acceptance speech before the GOP convention, he got the biggest applause when he promised to replace Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark (above), who has down-pedaled the crime issue.

and that retaliation against the perpetrators and the planners of violence will be swift and sure."

Speaking in June before a closed meeting of Republican congressional candidates, Nixon ripped into the Johnson-Humphrey Administration for allowing the District of Columbia to become the "Crime Capital" of the United States.

"What is happening to Washington, D.C., is a genuinely sickening tragedy to those who have known the city," declared Nixon. "D.C. should not stand for Disorder and Crime."

The former vice president promised that a Nixon Administration "will sweep the streets of Washington clean of these marauders and criminals and remove from this city the atmosphere of apprehension and fear that hangs over it."

To stem the rising crime rate, which has soared seven times faster than the population under the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, Nixon has made several proposals: "We need more police—better-trained, better-paid, and better-equipped—in every community in America. We need new laws and new tools to root out organized crime.

"We need a new respect for law in this country—a new determination that when a man disobeys the law, he pays the penalty for the crime. Some of our courts have gone too far in weakening the peace forces in this country as against the criminal forces, and we must restore the balance."

On the subject of dissent, Nixon minces no words: "Dissent is a necessary ingredient of change. But in a system of government that provides for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies resort to violence. There is no cause that justifies rule by mob instead of reason."

As far as the issue of gun control is concerned, Nixon sees the problem as how best to disarm the criminal element of society. To achieve this he feels that laws providing for a mandatory jail sentence for those convicted of using guns in major crimes would be more effective than laws which restrict the law-abiding citizen from access to firearms.

Big Government

A recent Gallup Poll showed the spectre of Big Government to be the No. 1 threat foremost in the mind of a great number of Americans. This is a threat of which Richard Nixon has been cognizant for a good many years.

"If I were to pick one major issue in this 1968 election in which the candidates have a basic disagreement, it is with regard to the role of government," says Nixon in a pamphlet entitled, "The Nixon Stand." "There are some who believe the way for a better society is for government to get bigger and bigger—which means the rights and responsibilities of people will get smaller and smaller.

"My position is that there are many things that runaway federal government is trying to do today that local government—or private enterprise or individuals—can do better.

"Let's never forget how America became great. We became great because for 190 years we have recognized that progress is achieved not through government doing more for people, but through people doing more for themselves.

"That is why I say we should do everything we possibly can to give people an opportunity to control their own lives and destinies, and in that way assure America's continued greatness."

The Economy

Long a champion of more economy in government and less government in the economy, Richard Nixon stated his views on this matter last July in a paper entitled "The Threat to the American Economy." Among other things, he said: "In less than five years the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has squandered the inheritance of a decade's solvency. . . ."

The "black capitalism" concept embraced by the former vice president is illustrated by Dr. Thomas Matthew's Interfaith Hospital of Queens in New York. Dr. Matthew's self-help operation is now nationwide with many diverse activities.

Citing the rising costs of food, medical services, housing; the increased number of man hours lost due to work stoppages, soaring interest rates and plummeting U.S. gold reserves, Nixon asked the question: What has gone wrong?

He answered: "The answer is one and the same—because for five years this Administration has refused to keep federal spending within federal means.

"The total deficit run up in the budgets of the Johnson-Humphrey years will amount to more than $55 billion. This massive deficit has wracked and dislocated the economy; this massive deficit has plunged the free world monetary system into a profound crisis of credibility."

Nixon feels that the U.S. economy cannot afford another four years of abuse from the same fiscal fumblers without suffering grave and perhaps permanent damage. "There is nothing the matter with the engine of free enterprise," says Nixon, "that cannot be corrected by placing a prudent and sober engineer at the throttle."

"The old politics of spend and elect have not only worked an injustice on the American people," he charges, "they have denied America much of its flexibility in dealing with onrushing change. . . .

"We can and must regain the freedom that comes from sound economic growth sustained by the dynamism of free enterprise."

Urban Problems

Unlike his Democratic opponent who has proposed such lavish, federally funded solutions to the problems of the cities as an Urban Development Bank and a Marshall Plan for the cities, Richard Nixon has refused to indulge in this type of pie-in-the-sky rhetoric, talk which he believes to be in some part responsible for the riots this country has experienced thus far.

Nixon has branded politicians' promises of billions to rebuild America's cities as "dishonest and cruel delusions" and has declared that he would not join in that game "whether it costs the election or not."

In Richard Nixon's approach to the solution of the urban crisis the emphasis is on private enterprise. "Government must do more to provide tax credits and other incentives for business to go where the need is." But Nixon feels that "business itself must act from a greater sense of urgency than the normal pursuit of profit. For these are not normal times. . . .

"The explosion of bitterness in the Negro ghetto has driven home a dramatic lesson that there are many whom this society has tragically failed but if it has shown this, it also has shown that the old approaches—the government charities that feed the stomach and starve the soul—have also failed."

Other ideas offered by Nixon include:

A Computer Job Bank. Under this plan, computers would be located in areas of high employment, both urban and rural. These would be programmed with data on available jobs and job training programs—locally, statewide and nationwide. A jobless man could tell the computer operator his employment background, his skills, his job needs—and in minutes he could learn where to find the work or training he needs.

Student-Teacher Corps. A corps of high school and college students; carefully selected, paid volunteers would work with inner city children.

"The old way—the government way—will no longer do," says Nixon. "The old way is still the conditioned reflex of those whose policy approaches are rooted in the '30s—the old way of massive spending piled on massive spending, and of looking to Washington to solve the problem of Watts. . . .

"It's time now for a new way, which yet is the oldest way of all—the way that begins with people, marshaling their own energies, moved by their own wills, pursuing their own dreams. . . .

"Through this creative interaction of public and private, of government and people, the poor can finally receive what laws alone cannot provide—the hope, the help, the fellowship of human dignity, which stem from that greatness of heart that lies at the heart of America's greatness."

'We need a new respect for law in this country—a new determination that when a man disobeys the law, he pays the penalty for the crime.'

—Richard Nixon

The Draft

On the subject of the draft, Nixon favors a voluntary military.

"I believe that when the war in Viet Nam is over, the draft should be ended

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and we should shift to the concept of an all-voluntary army. I say this not only because of the inequities inherent in any draft system, but also because the nature of war has changed.

"One of many lessons of Viet Nam is that wars which may threaten in the future will require highly professional armed forces, thoroughly trained in the new techniques of a new and more sophisticated warfare.

"Korea was probably our last conventional war. Those we must prepare against in the future are either nuclear exchanges, in which the draft would be irrelevant, or guerrilla wars. To be fully effective in a guerrilla war situation, we need a highly skilled, highly motivated professional corps which can train and work with the local, indigenous forces supplemented by a civilian corps of equally skilled nation-builders under civilian control.

"Since World War II the nation has relied on a peacetime draft in large measure because of the unwillingness to pay enough to attract enough recruits to meet our military commitments. But the draft is simply not adequate to meet the needs of this high professional force of the future. . . .

"The shift to an all-volunteer army cannot be made in the midst of war, and the draft machinery must be kept available on a standby basis in case of a sudden, unforeseen emergency. But the shift should be made when the war is over—not only in the interest of the young people whose lives are clouded by uncertainty, but also in the interest of an effective defense geared to the new and different needs of a new era."

Rocky 'Sell-Out'

It has been charged that in the early stages of the 1960 campaign for the presidency, Nixon met with Rockefeller and "sold out," that he had "surrendered" to Rocky in the "Treaty of Fifth Avenue." Nixon addressed himself to this charge in his book, *Six Crises* and said that, quite the contrary, Rocky surrendered to him:

"On issue after issue, I found it necessary to refuse to endorse Rockefeller's position because it was not in accord with President Eisenhower's and my own. The most sticky area—one which took us almost three hours to resolve—was the field of national security. I told Rockefeller that I had no objection wherever the statement advocated new or stepped-up programs for the future. But I would not approve any phrase in the statement which even by implication criticized the policies of the Eisenhower Administration. . . . In the domestic field again it was Rockefeller who did the 'surrendering'—on his proposal for financing compulsory health insurance for the aged from Social Security payments; on his insistence that 'compulsory arbitration' be one of the weapons in the arsenal of federal agencies for the settlement of labor disputes; and on an arbitrary rate of 'forced' economic growth of 5 to 6 per cent as the Rockefeller Brothers Fund had advocated."

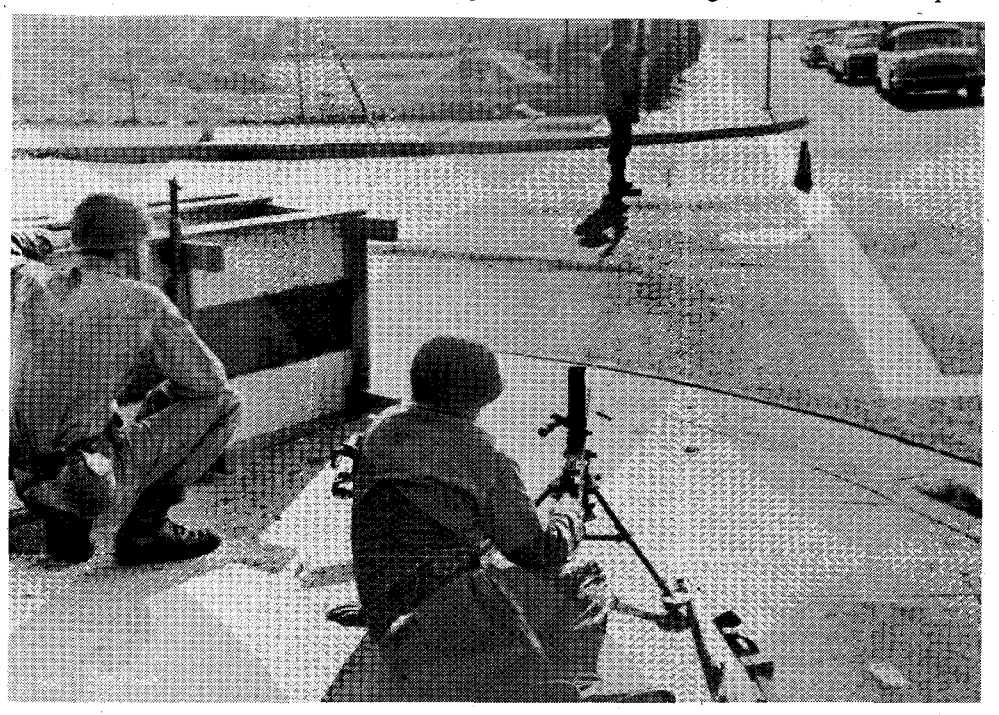
School Busing

Expanding on his criticism of the Johnson Administration's enforcement of school desegregation decisions, Nixon told the press on Sept. 17, 1968, "When the Office of Education goes beyond the mandate of Congress and attempts to use federal funds not just for the purpose of avoiding segregation, but for the purpose of integration in a positive way—busing and the like—with that I disagree.

"I do not believe that education is served by taking children who are two or three grades behind and busing them across to another district."

CFR

According to the deputy director of the Council on Foreign Relations, Nixon accepted an invitation to join the council and paid his non-resident dues for one year, 1961. His membership was then terminated when he did not subsequently continue to pay his dues. A member of Nixon's staff, A. G. Anderson, corroborates this story and adds, "His [Mr. Nixon's] foreign policy is based on his own thinking and is not related to the views of this group."



Under the last four years of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, soldiers manning barricades in the streets of the nation's cities are becoming an all too common sight.

Latin America

In response to a heckling student at Wisconsin State University earlier this year, Richard Nixon outlined his program for "revolution" in Latin America.

"Latin America needs radical social change," Nixon began. "It needs a revolution. What it does not need is what Fidel Castro imposed on Cuba."

First, he said, the 200 million people living on the edges of that continent should be given American aid in "building the great highway that will open the interior of the country."

"Let us be practical," he said. "With a half-billion dollars, we could do more to lift the standard of living for Latin Americans in the next 10 years than we have done with our billions in aid in the last 10. We could open up the heartland, unite those peoples and make the common market a possibility. . . ."

The second needed revolution, Nixon said, is one in agriculture, to remedy the situation of Chile, "a country with as much arable land as California, which imports $250 million worth of food a year to feed a population of seven million. . . ."

Finally, he said, "they need a revolution in education," in order to convert what is now "the worst educational system in the world" into one that produces the required number of scientists, technicians, educators and health specialists.

"I don't know if that answer satisfies you," Nixon told the heckler in conclusion. "The kind of revolution I'm talking about doesn't mean going in and blowing up countries. But I think we've had enough marching feet in Latin America, and we need some helping hands."

Cuba

In an exclusive interview in July of this year, Nixon outlined his views on Castro's Cuba to Miami *Herald* Latin America correspondent William Montalbano.

"I think the U.S. policies toward Cuba have to tighten its economic quarantine. And here is where the policies toward Cuba need a great assist from our friends in other parts of the world. Here is where I think some new diplomatic moves must be made with our European friends and our Canadian friends and the rest.

"This is the only leverage we currently have on Castro. But I definitely would not move in the direction of revising our policies toward a softer line. The fundamental reason is this: Castro is exporting his revolution throughout the hemisphere. Therefore, U.S. foreign policy requires—and foreign policy of all other nations in the world interested in peace requires—this kind of government be quarantined; quarantined for the sake of peace."

Riot Report

In Keene, N.H., in a radio interview in March of this year, Nixon sharply criticized the President's Commission on Civil Disorders for what he termed its "undue emphasis" on the role of "white racists" and its failure to indict the "perpetrators" of the riots themselves:

"One of the major weaknesses of the President's commission is that it in effect blames everybody for the riots except the perpetrators of the riots. And I think that that deficiency has to be dealt with first. Until we have order we can have no progress."

"I believe," Nixon continued, "that we've got to make it very clear to potential rioters that in the event something starts next summer that the law will move in with adequate force to put down rioting and looting at the first indication of it.

"I think the commission has put undue emphasis on the idea that we are in effect a racist society, white racists versus black racists. . . .

"What we need is more talk about reconciliation, more talk about how we're going to work together."

Connally Amendment

On the controversial Connally Amendment, or as it is also known, the Connally Reservation, Nixon has said: "I believe the Connally Amendment should be replaced by a new reservation which should be so phrased that the declaration will not apply to disputes which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States of America or disputes involving the national security of the United States of America.

"With such a declaration, we will protect our sovereignty through protections that the Connally Amendment does not give and at the same time strengthen our world position by taking the leadership in indicating our willingness, under proper safeguards, to settle our disputes with other nations through the rule of law rather than a resort to force."

The Connally Reservation, named after Sen. Tom Connally in 1946, exempted matters within the domestic sphere of the U.S. from decisions of the World Court.

Student Disorder

This past May, Nixon referred to the rebellion at Columbia University as "a national tragedy and a national disgrace." He called the disorders "the first major skirmish in a revolutionary struggle to seize the universities of this country and transform them into sanctuaries for radicals and for vehicles for revolutionary and political goals.

"A university is a community of scholars seeking truth," Nixon went on. "It is a place where reason reigns and the right of dissent is safeguarded and cherished. Force and coercion are wholly alien to that community and those who employ it have no place there."

East-West Trade

On the subject of trading with the Communists, Nixon has said: "The United States—and its allies—should use trade as a political weapon just as the Soviet Union has used it for many years. Indeed, the superiority and diversity of the Western economies means that a trade weapon in our hands is a far more effective vehicle for persuasion than it is in the hands of the Soviets. Secondly, . . . while the war in Viet Nam is going on, I do not think the United States should make any new trade concessions to Communist Europe until their aid to the North Vietnamese war effort comes to an end."

"Where the Communists are concerned, as we learned in Korea, when we talk they fight," Nixon said in February of this year. "We must never forget that after truce talks started in Korea there were 18,000 American deaths. . . . We must never let that happen in Viet Nam.

"I'm a firm liner, because I know the Communists, and I know that as far as they are concerned all this talk that we must prove that we are for peace—look, if they were for peace they wouldn't have started the war."

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Hubert Humphrey: Democratic Candidate

The convulsion in Chicago in late August, sometimes referred to as the 1968 Democratic National Convention, wasn't all barbed wire, tear gas, police brutality, Yippies, hippies, Reds and massive violence. There was plenty of this, of course, as the TV viewer and those who attended in person can attest, but the convention also displayed its lighter side.

There was the engaging spectacle, from a Republican point of view, of Democrats cursing and booing each other, stomping out of the convention hall and lacerating opponents with horrendous charges. There was Connecticut's Abraham Ribicoff accusing Mayor Richard J. Daley, Chicago's big, burly, jowly boss, of employing "Gestapo tactics" against youthful demonstrators for McCarthy. And there was Daley's hoarse, obscenity-riddled retort to his tormentors and his packing of the Amphitheatre galleries with persons wearing "We Love Mayor Daley" signs.

There were other moments of amusement, such as the time the chairman of the New Hampshire delegation wound up in the "pokey" and when Julian Bond, nominated for vice president, discovered he was seven years younger than the Constitution permits a vice president to be.

Hubert Horatio Humphrey Jr., who is carrying the banner of a fractured Democratic party, strikes what many would consider his most characteristic pose.

Why Chicago Disorders?

Not the least of the sillier happenings occurred when Hubert Humphrey won the nomination for President. When Mrs. Humphrey's face flashed on the TV screen in his hotel room, HHH excitedly remarked: "Look how pretty she looks! I'm going to give her a big kiss!" The irrepressible spokesman for the "Politics of Joy" then rushed over to the TV set and planted a kiss on the screen, repeating it a second time for photographers.

Actually, however, the Chicago fiasco was, on the whole, a thoroughly depressing piece of business.

Democrat Daley proved he couldn't run his city; and the liberals in the Democratic party proved they couldn't run a convention. It will be utterly surprising, in view of what happened there, if the people permit these politicians to continue running this country.

To many observers it seemed that all the demonic forces that surfaced in the Windy City had, to a large extent, been given birth to by these very same liberal Democrats who gathered there:

- The prospering of the anti-war movement in this country can be largely traced to this Administration's failure to win the war in Viet Nam.
- The growth of the radical left in the United States can be laid at the door of a Democratic Administration which has hired them, subsidized them and placed them in high positions of government. Indeed, Marcus Raskin, a key leader in the draft resistance movement who turned up in Chicago, was once a staff member of the super-secret National Security Council.
- The violent clash between police and youthful demonstrators is a product of this Administration's massive encouragement of civil disobedience as an allegedly legitimate means of obtaining one's goals.

The now famous clash between the Chicago police and the demonstrators sparked a reaction that again raised the question of whether the liberal Democrats are capable of running the country.

The really sad fact is that these very same liberals who have largely helped to foment the crises Americans now must face still desperately want to run the country. Yet there is no suggestion, judging from the Democratic platform and candidates, that they plan to do anything different from what they have been doing for the past eight years.

There is no hint that they have learned from the mistakes they made in Viet Nam. There is no indication that they will select justices to the lower and higher courts who will be as concerned with the protection of society as today's justices are with the rights of the lawbreaker. There is no suggestion that a new attorney general is needed who will vigorously use the tools given to him by Congress to prosecute dangerous criminals.

And despite convention talk about "fresh, new ideas," the platform is full of the tired, old liberal prescriptions for sound economic health: more federal projects and more federal spending. One can read this into virtually every paragraph referring to both domestic and foreign programs.

The federal government will rebuild our cities, expand the anti-poverty program and continue to lavish foreign aid on friend and foe alike. The Democrats will build dams for Ho Chi Minh —if the war stops—and would channel additional funds into the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), which, incidentally, has been funnelling U.S. aid into Communist Poland and Red Cuba.

Labor's Pals

The Democrats would mobilize the nation's resources so more federal money could be directed toward subsidizing the arts and the humanities and, judging from present programs, the propping up of Broadway plays that have failed at the box office. The platform would implement the gigantic spending programs recommended by the Kerner Commission. And so on ad infinitum.

This report on candidate Humphrey is taken in part from the book, **Hubert,** by **Human Events** Capitol Hill Editor Allan H. Ryskind. **Hubert** was published earlier this year by Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y.

Biographical Highlights

- Born, Wallace, South Dakota, May 27, 1911
- Graduated Denver College of Pharmacy, Pharmacy Degree, 1933
- Married Muriel Fay Buck, Sept. 3, 1936. The Humphrey's have four children: Nancy (Mrs. C. Bruce Solomonson), Hubert Horatio III (Skip), Robert and Douglas.
- B.A., University of Minneapolis, 1939
- M.A., Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1940
- Worked for the Minnesota branch of the War Production Administration 1941-43
- Instructor at Macalester College, St. Paul, 1943-44
- Ran unsuccessfully for Mayor of Minneapolis 1943
- Led the fight to merge the Minnesota Democratic party and the Farmer-Labor party 1944
- Served as Minnesota campaign manager for Roosevelt-Truman presidential ticket 1944
- Elected Mayor of Minneapolis June 11, 1945
- Re-elected Mayor 1947
- Co-founder of the Americans for Democratic Action 1947
- Received national attention for civil rights speech at Democratic National Convention July 1948
- Elected U.S. Senator November 1948
- Unsuccessfully campaigned for Democratic Vice Presidential nomination 1952 and 1956
- Defeated by John F. Kennedy in bid for Presidential nomination 1960
- Made U.S. Senate Majority Whip 1961
- Elected Vice President 1964
- Nominated as Democratic candidate for President, Aug. 28, 1968

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It's the politics of joy (a favorite HHH phrase) at the rostrum of the Democratic convention as Humphrey and Sen. Edmund Muskie with their wives acknowledge the cheers of the party faithful.

Yet besides advocating more federal spending on nearly everything under or over the sun, the platform, amazingly enough, also speaks temptingly of cutting taxes, maintaining the "lowest possible" interest rates and assuring an "adequate" supply of credit for everybody.

All this, of course, in spite of the obvious fact that the United States has come to the brink of financial disaster by pursuing exactly this sort of policy.

The platform, needless to say, would also appease the labor barons who put Humphrey over on the first ballot and who appear to have a mortgage on the Democratic party. Even while Mayor Daley's Chicago was beset with telephone, bus and cab strikes during the Democratic convention, several planks endorsed by the delegates promised to reward organized labor with additional powers to paralyze the public:

• One plank calls for "repeal of the provision permitting states to enact compulsory open shop laws"; i.e., the Democrats plan to eliminate the famous Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act which permits states to pass laws forbidding a person to pay tribute to a union before he can hold a job.

• Humphrey's party also plans "removal" of so-called "unreasonable restrictions upon the right of peaceful picketing, including situs picketing." Translated, this means permitting one union to close down an entire construction project even though other unions working on the same project have absolutely no beef with the employer.

• This same plank, further, indicates the liberal Democrats may well back the right of unions to picket vital military installations.

• In addition to all this, the platform calls for ways and means to increase unionization of workers not now covered.

Interpreters of the platform say it would open the way for Humphrey, if he were elected President, to try to force compulsory unionism on millions of federal employes. The Johnson Administration came close to accomplishing that project this year, until the National Right to Work organization and its allies alerted the Congress and the public to the danger. But the Democratic platform indicates a Humphrey Administration would continue the drive for forced unionization of federal workers.

There is little doubt, moreover, that Hubert Humphrey, the Democratic nominee (as well as his teammate, Maine Sen. Edmund Muskie) is desirous of carrying out the goals of the platform. The platform, in fact, reeks with Humphreyitis.

Ever since he entered into politics 25 years ago, Humphrey has fervently believed that the remedies for the world's ills lie in giving the union bosses what they demand and permitting the federal government to intrude massively into the private affairs of men.

As mayor of Minneapolis, Humphrey turned the town into an arm of organized labor. In the Senate, he invariably cast his lot with the labor bosses. And he has always remained an ardent advocate of spending the taxpayers' dollars as if they grew on trees.

As a founder and former chairman of the left-wing Americans for Democratic Action, he has repeatedly called for the blowing of billions of dollars on a plethora of federal projects. In recent months, as the balance-of-payments deficit and national debt have soared, Humphrey was urging a "Marshall Plan" for the cities and a doubling or tripling of foreign aid to Africa.

Nothing, it would seem, can temper his insatiable craving for additional government programs. As Humphrey himself has said about spending: "I have always said that between the platforms of Santa Claus and Scrooge, I will stick with jolly Santa. Anytime anyone wants to run on that platform, they can count me in. . . ."

Humphrey fancies himself an expert on how to deal with crime, yet he is a vigorous supporter of the present attorney general and the liberal judicial activists who have helped crime to flourish by their obsessive concern for murderers, rapists, arsonists and looters. The vice president thinks he knows how to combat the Communists, yet his misjudgments in the field of foreign policy are legion. At one time or another, he has advocated policies benefitting Mao Tse-tung, Joseph Stalin, Fidel Castro and lesser-known Red imperialists. In short, he is just about the perfect presidential candidate for the liberal Democrats to nominate.

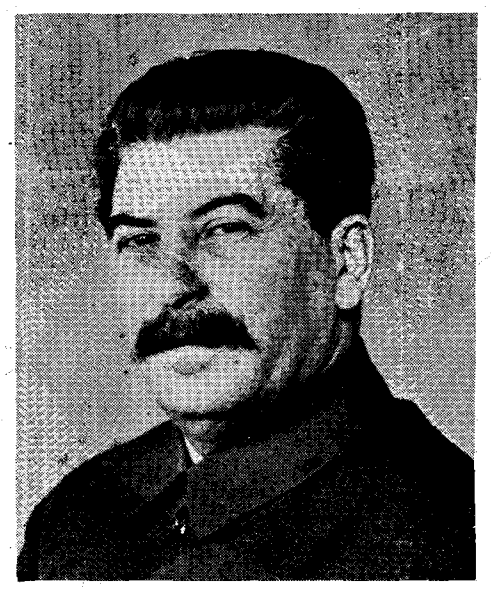
later supported Henry Wallace and his Communist-manipulated Progressive party.

A number of other well-known pro-Soviet radicals were also given important posts in Humphrey's new party. Humphrey believed it was all right to cooperate with these left-wing extremists, even though many of them had already been discredited and denounced by the Minneapolis newspapers in the 1930s.

Thus when Humphrey is given credit for leading the fight to remove Communists and their allies from the DFL in 1948, it must not be forgotten that he was perfectly willing to let them into the DFL in the first place.

Humphrey was still advocating conciliatory gestures toward the Communists a few months after the formation of the DFL. Speaking before the men's club at Minneapolis' First Congregational Church on Jan. 8, 1945, Humphrey made some startling suggestions on how to deal with the Soviet Union:

> The closer the United Nations come to victory the more obvious and apparent become some of their differences. We have always had these differences and there is no reason to



In the post-war days, Humphrey often advocated or acquiesed in the expansionist policies of Red dictator Joseph Stalin (above).

> believe that the war would minimize them. I do not believe that Americans should be unduly alarmed over minor differences with Russia. If it will be but remembered that it was not until 1933 that we even recognized the Soviet Union as a state, and that bitterness through misunderstanding and deliberate perpetration of falsehood has been the pattern between Russia and America, then it becomes more obvious why differences may occur. I would say that we have to keep in mind what Russia wants and needs. I would list them in this manner:
>
> A practical program of collective security as outlined in the Dumbarton Oaks proposal, establishing the Security Council.
>
> Border states which are friendly to the Soviet Union and governments in those states which will not serve as agents of anti-Soviet forces.
>
> An outlet into the Mediterranean.
>
> A rectification of her boundaries with Poland and Rumania.
>
> The inclusion of the Baltic states into the Soviet Union.
>
> I would say that these are the major demands of the Soviet Union, none of which are in any way impossible of solution, and all of which fit very nicely into a more secure and stable Russia.
>
> It is to be remembered that Russia has been living in a society opposed to its institutions of government and economics. Russian leadership has been fearful. This psychology of fear has motivated her to be highly nationalistic, sensitive and at times, militant. The answer to a fear psychosis is the establishment of conditions which promote and guarantee security.

Is HHH Really 'Soft on Communism'?

After considerable pressure from the liberal news media and some Nervous Nellie Republicans, GOP vice presidential candidate Spiro T. Agnew apologized for the "squishy soft" and just plain "soft on communism" charges he hurled at Hubert Humphrey during the campaign. But the "retraction" was not quite so all-encompassing as the press chose to play it.

If the "soft-on-communism" phrase could be interpreted as a reflection on Humphrey's integrity or loyalty, said Agnew, he certainly hadn't meant to employ it in this fashion. Yet Agnew insisted he had no intention of withdrawing his other charge that Humphrey was beginning to "look a lot like Neville Chamberlain" on his Viet Nam views and was assuming the same "peace at any price" posture that Chamberlain assumed in Munich, Germany, some 30 years ago.

Agnew, however, needn't have apologized at all. Humphrey's record, it is true, is not that of one who has been totally soft on the subject of communism. He helped kick the Communists out of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party 20 years ago and, for a while, supported President Johnson's relatively hard line in Viet Nam.

But more often than not, Humphrey has sided with those who believe that the best way to achieve peace with the Communists is to conciliate them.

In 1946 Humphrey vigorously supported followers of radical Henry Wallace (above), even after President Truman had dumped Wallace for his pro-Soviet stance.

His belief that appeasement is the better part of valor is one of long standing. Humphrey, for instance, led the movement in Minnesota back in 1944 which resulted in the creation of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party. In achieving his goal, however, he refused to challenge the successful effort of extreme left-wingers and pro-Communists in gaining key positions in the newly formed DFL.

Charles Egley, a member of the National Farmers Union, for example, emerged as vice chairman of the new party's state central committee. Yet in January 1944—only a few months before the DFL's formation—Egley's name headed a list of sponsors of the 20th anniversary party of the *Daily Worker*, the official Communist party publication.

Mrs. Arthur LeSueur was named as vice chairman of the state central committee. Her husband had also sponsored the anniversary celebration of the *Worker*, and Mrs. LeSueur was a fervent radical in her own right who

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Keeping in mind what Russia wants and needs, calling for the Soviet incorporation of the Baltic states, apologizing for Stalin's aggressive impulses—what was Humphrey being if not "soft on communism"?

Humphrey continued to court the more extreme radicals in his own party during the 1940s. After he had been elected mayor of Minneapolis in 1945, the CIO's *Minnesota Labor* reported that Humphrey "singled out the election of Mrs. Nellie Stone to the library board as showing that the 'people of Minnesota had the best interest of democracy at heart.' He praised the work of Robert I. Wishart, president of the Hennepin County CIO Council, as a vital force in the United Labor for Political Action. 'Bob brought a new force into the political movement of Minneapolis,' said Humphrey."

At that time Nellie Stone was a Communist (though she left the party in the 1950s) and had just six months previously helped sponsor that 20th anniversary celebration of the *Worker*. Wishart, another pro-Soviet radical, had been part of the arrangements committee for that occasion.

In late 1945 and 1946, Humphrey kept pursuing his left-wing course. He joined in a move initiated by a well-known Stalinist, William Mauseth, to get the United States to withdraw its troops from Nationalist China at the precise moment that the worldwide Communist movement was demanding the same thing.

Finally Moves in '47

In 1946 Humphrey vigorously supported such DFL candidates as Prof. Theodore Jorgenson and Douglas Hall, who were out-and-out Soviet apologists and supporters of Henry Wallace even after Wallace had been fired from the Truman Administration for his defense of Soviet aggression.

It was not until March 1947 that Humphrey began to combat the Communist influence in the DFL. He deserves credit for finally arriving at that decision, but it was an awfully long time in coming.

Humphrey's determination to battle the Communists inside his own party, however, did not mean that he had magically transformed himself into a "cold warrior." Indeed, after his election to the Senate in 1948, HHH continued to reveal a decided "softness" toward the Communists.

As a founder, past national chairman and vice chairman of the left-wing Americans for Democratic Action, for instance, Humphrey was part of an organization that not only called for massive appeasement of the Communists abroad, but urged abolition or the effective castration of such congressional committees on subversion as the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security subcommittee.

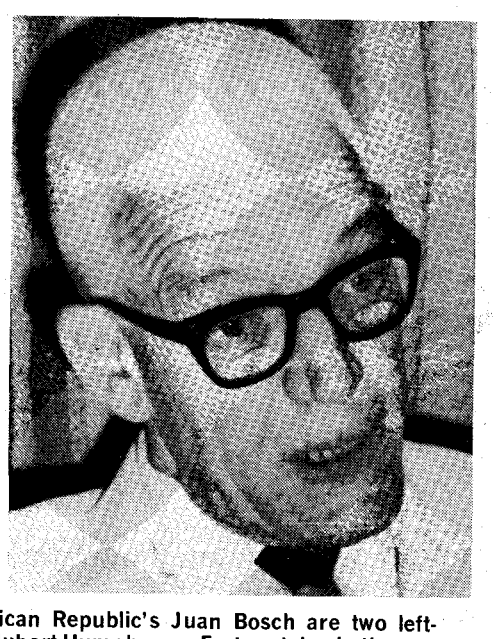
Humphrey also was one of 10 senators to uphold President Truman's veto of the 1950 McCarran Internal Security Act, whose main purpose was to expose and restrict the actions of Communist organizations.

In the field of foreign policy, Humphrey continued to be enamored by solutions bent on accommodating our Communist foes. In 1955 he led the fight in the Senate against ratification of a resolution empowering the President to defend the Chinese Nationalist-held islands of Quemoy and Matsu from Red Chinese aggression.

He referred to the offshore islands—inhabited by 50,000 anti-Communist Chinese—as an internal matter, and contemptuously claimed their defense would only win the friendship of "Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek"—as if these anti-Red rulers, whose countries had shed blood against a common Communist foe, were somehow unworthy of support. Humphrey protested there was not "one iota of evidence to show that Quemoy and Matsu are essential to the defense of Formosa"—thus airily dismissing such experts as Admirals Arleigh Burke, Ike's chief of Naval Operations, and Charles M. Cooke, former commander of the 7th Fleet, which patrols the waters near the China Coast.

A longtime staunch advocate of disarmament, Humphrey drinks a toast during Moscow ceremonies celebrating the signing of the 1963 nuclear test ban treaty. At the right are U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, U.N. Secretary-General U Thant and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev.

Humphrey also was not content to appease the Communist Chinese on the offshore islands alone, however. In 1957 he proposed a "fresh look at our policy" toward Red China and advised that we should consider modifying a number of our policies "such as the trade embargo, which forces China into ever closer relations with the Soviet bloc." The Minnesotan also pressed for a U.S. policy that would strip the National government of its seat on the Security Council at the United Nations and replace it with neutralist India.



Algeria's Ahmed Ben Bella and the Dominican Republic's Juan Bosch are two left-leaning dictators who had the blessings of Hubert Humphrey. Fortunately, both men are now out of power—although Algeria still leans to the Red orbit.

Robert Sherrill, Washington correspondent for the very left-wing *Nation* magazine, applauds Humphrey for not being "one who jumped on Castro" immediately after his takeover of Cuba in 1959.

In fact, says Sherrill, Humphrey said in April of that year: "To millions of Cubans he symbolizes their hope for a better life." Castro, Humphrey went on, "has surrounded himself in his cabinet with a number of honest, capable men. . . ." About the "spectre" of communism, Sherrill notes approvingly, Humphrey had little to say and called for "understanding and help" for "Dr. Castro."

In January 1960, nationally syndicated columnist Holmes Alexander wrote that Humphrey appeared extremely sympathetic toward the Castro government. "The senator," said Alexander, "spoke with disparagement of the 'Batista dictatorship' and with forbearance of the 'Castro regime.' When I asked him if his choice of words could be considered significant, and if he did not think Castro also ran a 'dictatorship,' the senator said he would let his statement stand."

"It was a clear case of Hubert Humphrey's refusing to turn his back on Fidel Castro. For a man aspiring to be President of the United States at this hour of history, the statement is less than reassuring," wrote Alexander.

When Humphrey finally learned that "Dr. Castro" was not just an agrarian reformer, he still managed to advocate vigorously a policy that, in effect, protected Castro's position. In May 1961 Humphrey expressed flat opposition to military intervention, declaring that a military crackdown on Cuba 'could entangle the United States in a fruitless and dangerous policy."

A little over a month before the Cuban missile crisis, Humphrey denounced Republican advocates of a U.S. invasion of Cuba as "jingoists." Humphrey stated that the Senate must "get tough"—not with Castro—but with "swaggering irresponsibles in these very halls of Congress" who were for eliminating Castro through U.S. military might.

On Oct. 18, 1962, just three days before President Kennedy made his historic speech about Soviet long-range missiles in Cuba, Humphrey charged that those who termed Cuba a military threat were doing so "for narrow partisan purposes." Those Republicans who proposed an invasion of Cuba, he insisted, were "damn irresponsible" and those who urged a blockade—as JFK was to impose—were "over 65, have hardening of the arteries and usually have congressional immunity."

Humphrey's eyes were apparently closed to the danger that Fidel Castro posed to the hemisphere.

It is difficult, sometimes, to know where Humphrey has *not* been soft on the Communist issue. He has openly supported such anti-American, pro-Communist characters as Cuba's Castro, Algeria's Ben Bella, the Dominican Republic's Juan Bosch and the Congo's Antoine Gizenga and Christophe Gbenye.

Gbenye, whom Humphrey defended against charges of communism and extremism in September 1961, subsequently emerged as the swashbuckling leader of the Peking-backed Congo People's Republic in Stanleyville—the same "Republic" which sparked the bloody 1964 massacre of native Congolese and white hostages, including the murder of the famous Dr. Paul Carlson. Gbenye had personally spurred his rebel Simba soldiers on to the slaughter with the statement: "As fetishes we will wear the hearts of Belgians and Americans; we will dress in the skins of Americans and Belgians."

Rapacki Plan Blunder

Humphrey has also championed trade with Communist countries and inspectionless disarmament pacts with the Soviets. He was a vigorous advocate of the informal 1958 pact the United States made with the Soviets in regard to a total moratorium on atomic testing. When the Soviets unilaterally broke the moratorium in September 1961, Humphrey began searching for even more radical approaches to disarmament.

Barely a month after the Soviets had renewed their atmospheric nuclear tests, Humphrey dropped a bombshell on United States foreign policy when he told a Polish television audience on October 16 that the United States was giving "very thoughtful and very serious consideration" to the Rapacki plan for an atom-free zone in central Europe. The plan also called for a thinning out of armaments in a central European area that would include East and West Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

When the television interviewer pointed out that the Rapacki plan—proposed by the Polish foreign affairs minister and supported by the USSR—had already been rejected by the West, Humphrey replied: "That was by a previous Administration. . . . There is a new President and a new policy

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and a new disarmament program. . . . The disarmament agency will be giving the Rapacki plan and other plans to stop the arms race very thoughtful and very serious consideration."

Humphrey's announcement that the United States was considering a withdrawal of nuclear and conventional forces from Europe could not have been more ill-timed. It came within two months after the Soviets had erected the Berlin Wall, closing off East Berlin from the free world, and within two months after the Soviets had deliberately violated the unofficial test-ban pact.

Western Europe, already shaken by these violent Soviet actions, feared some new and even more dangerous Soviet move was in the offing. Nothing could have been more primed to instill panic in our Western allies than Humphrey's prattle about the Rapacki plan. So upsetting were Humphrey's words that Secretary of State Dean Rusk and President Kennedy himself had to publicly rebuke Humphrey for shooting from the lip.

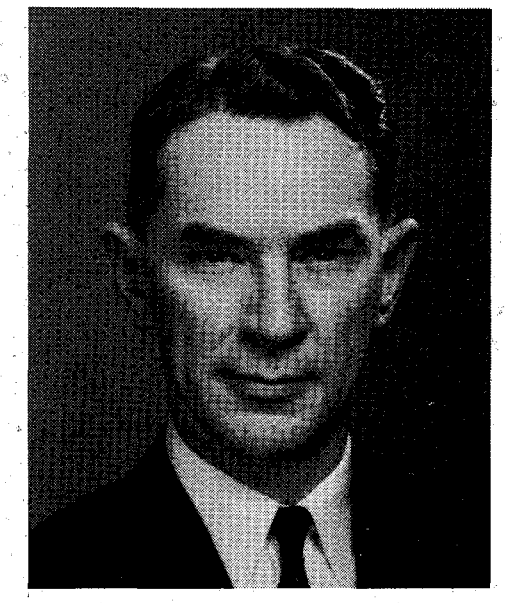
When Humphrey became vice president, Theodore White observed that he had promised LBJ never to publicly disagree with him. Therefore, it is difficult to know exactly what Humphrey's convictions have been during the past four years. Yet as he has gradually emerged from LBJ's shadow since becoming the Democratic presidential candidate, Hubert Humphrey has again revealed his dovish nature.

• Surrounding him as advisers are such ardent advocates of unilateral disarmament as Dr. Jerome Wiesner and such ardent advocates of appeasement of the Red Chinese as Edwin O. Reischauer, a former member of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

• In a speech before the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco on July 11, 1968, Humphrey put forth several suggestions concerning Communist China and urged that "we lift restrictions on trade in non-strategic goods. . . ."

• In campaigning for the presidency, he has made overtures to the McCarthy forces by claiming in Denver that he would have "no difficulty" in running on the dove platform rejected by the Democrats in Chicago. That proposed plank, it is interesting to note, called for an "unconditional end to all bombing of North Viet Nam" (an act that the military says would increase U.S. casualties fivefold), promised to reduce U.S. offensive operations in South Viet Nam and urged a coalition government on South Viet Nam.

It is really not surprising, therefore, that Gov. Agnew believes that Hubert Humphrey is the 1968 version of Neville Chamberlain.



Among Humphrey's many liberal advisers are such backers of unilateral disarmament as Jerome Wiesner (left) and Edwin O. Reischauer, a former ambassador to Japan who favors a soft line towards Red China.

Labor's Obedient Servant

Behind the scenes at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, the bosses of Big Labor played an enormously influential role in putting Humphrey over the top on the first ballot.

They helped to nix the rising boomlet for Ted Kennedy—whom they believe is too young and too rash—and Eugene McCarthy whom they distrust. They were for Hubert Humphrey, for union leaders know that Humphrey has slavishly followed their direction ever since he entered politics in Minnesota back in the 1940s.

Throughout the nights before the nomination, flying squads of powerful union bosses rounded up votes for Hubert. Headquartered at the Drake Hotel, AFL-CIO chieftains staged a well-organized operation that escaped the ever-present television cameras.

AFL-CIO chieftain George Meany, who had started the ball rolling for Humphrey when LBJ bowed out of the presidential race on March 31, launched "Operation Humphrey." He assigned Alexander E. Barkan, head of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE), to direct the convention maneuvering. Meany's special assistant, Lane Kirkland, joined Barkan in an office in the Amphitheatre balcony to coordinate the labor effort.

While Meany remained ensconced at Drake Hotel headquarters, Barkan and Kirkland kept contact with nearly a score of floor operatives through walkie-talkie radios and special telephones. They hooked into Walter Reuther's communications center, a 25th floor Hotel Sheraton suite and teamed up with the Teamsters' operation called DRIVE.

The final push to put Humphrey over the top began August 26 in the Drake ballroom. There, George Meany had gathered with him the biggest single bloc of delegates to the Democratic convention, 304 headline-making chiefs from 43 states.

As hundreds whistled and cheered, reported labor columnist Victor Riesel, George Meany let them have it. The new Nixon, he thundered, is a "black cloud" which must be "dispelled. . . .

"If you don't know Nixon and what he represents [to us], then you don't belong in the labor movement. You ought to resign." According to Riesel's account, Meany added: "We have more at stake than any other segment of society. We are the largest organization in the nation. But we can't do our job unless we have someone who sympathizes. That man [Hubert Humphrey] was here today."

'I Depended on You'

Meany, said Riesel, spoke a few minutes after the vice president had left the dais amid a whooping, standing ovation, the noise of which was out-decibeled only when Humphrey had told the union delegates:

"I depended on you and you never let me down. You depended on me and I never let you down. I now depend on you [again] and don't let me down." They didn't, and Hubert Humphrey coasted to a first ballot victory.

The reason the big unions are so overwhelmingly in favor of Humphrey is that there is no politician today who has for 20-odd years so tenderly catered to even the tiniest whims of organized labor.

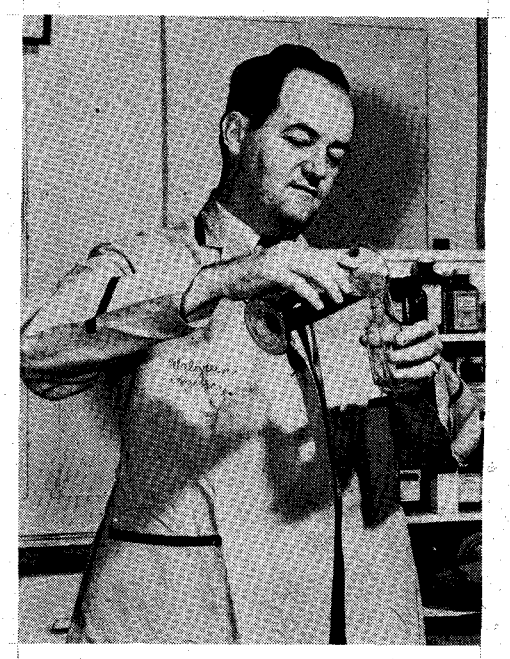
When Humphrey became mayor of Minneapolis in 1945 as a result of labor support, he literally turned the town into an arm of the labor unions. Commenting on the labor situation, the Minneapolis *Star* observed in a May 1947 editorial:

"Minneapolis would roar in protest if a political dictator or a business dictatorship tried to take over the city government. Why then should it tolerate the same kind of dictatorship by a group of labor bosses?

"These bosses now control the city council and other municipal agencies. They are fighting hard to retain the council majority, and to extend their power if possible. By the stamp of labor indorsement upon compliant alderman candidates, these bosses have been able to defeat independent candidates who usually run without any organization backing."

The Minneapolis *Morning Tribune* also ripped into the union-controlled council. "The present city council," noted the *Tribune*, "has a majority of self-styled 'liberals' who are in fact controlled by a group of bosses just as effective in their way as the better known bosses of other cities. These 'liberals' must sign pledges to the Central Labor Union and vote as the CLU dictates.

"When one of these 'liberal' aldermen leaves the council, these bosses hand-pick the man they want to fill the vacancy. It doesn't matter whether the man they pick is qualified or whether he will be interested in improving the city for the good of all the people. The only question so far as the bosses are concerned is 'Will he vote the way *we* want him to vote?' "



Humphrey still holds a financial interest in the family pharmacy.

Unions Like City Hall

There were a myriad of other areas where the unions were wielding decisive power by early 1947. Labor dispute after labor dispute found Humphrey on the side of the union leaders, with the city's legal apparatus actually used to aid strikers intent upon forcing companies to knuckle under to union demands. A few months before winning re-election in June, Humphrey publicly acknowledged he did not enforce the law against mass picketing in the Northwestern Bell Telephone strike. When Humphrey picked his police chief, he first had to clear his choice with the unions.

The schools, on the brink of one financial crisis after another, appeared at the mercy of the militant AFL Federations of Men and Women Teachers, though it was not until 1948 that the federations would shut down all 92 of the city's public schools and surround them with marching pickets. The central question in the strike was ostensibly salary, but the real issue—and the one that had plagued the schools for some time—was whether the board of education and the superintendent or the teachers' federation was going to administer the schools.

When Humphrey made a "compromise" offer to end the strike, the

Humphrey joins AFL-CIO head George Meany and Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz for lunch at a recent union meeting in Washington. Humphrey has long been a prime supporter of Big Labor programs, although it is expected that because of George Wallace much rank-and-file union backing of HHH will fall off this year.

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"I count it unfinished . . . and necessary . . . business that common situs picketing be recognized . . . and that Section 14b be repealed' —Hubert Humphrey, May 25, 1968

Star chastised the mayor for "advocating a surrender to the federations which would increase their power and prestige over the superintendent and the board."

Humphrey also displayed favoritism toward the unions in the crucial area of charter reform. Since he first began campaigning for mayor, Humphrey had talked incessantly about the need for a reorganization of the city government. Experts believed the government needed streamlining, as there appeared to have been a mushrooming of semi-independent boards and commissions over the years.

City's Debt Soars

Even more important to reform, however, was reducing the power of the unions. The charter commission was not particularly anti-union, but it strongly recommended that any new charter cut down the number of aldermen from 26 to 13.

When organized labor feared that the reduction would threaten its control over the city council, it vigorously opposed the commission's recommendation. Humphrey, in turn, vigorously supported labor's opposition.

Taking Humphrey to task, the Minneapolis *Morning Tribune* commented: "To achieve the reforms and the reorganization the city needs, the city must first of all have a new charter. . . .

"Now organized labor in Minneapolis is 'putting the heat' on the mayor to wipe out some of the gains the charter would give the city. Particularly, labor objects to the proposal that the city have 13 instead of 26 aldermen.

"No sooner had organized labor made known its demands than the mayor gave strong support to those objections. It was complete capitulation on the part of the mayor."

By 1947 the three-man civil service commission, which governed the hiring and firing of city employes, was also dominated by the unions, thanks to Humphrey. When Humphrey in 1948 nominated for the commission Rubin Latz, business agent for the laundry workers' union, the Minneapolis *Star* scored the mayor:

> The civil service commission is composed of two union business agents and the state chairman of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party. The term of one of the business agents, George Phillips, expires soon. Phillips and the Central Labor Union endorsed Latz as Phillips' successor. Mayor Humphrey appointed Latz to the vacancy.
>
> Suppose the situation were reversed. Suppose the civil service commission were composed of the state chairman of the Republican party and two conservative employers. Could any mayor defend the appointment of another employer to the commission, however qualified and public-spirited that employer might be?
>
> By tradition the civil service commission is composed of representatives of the workers, the employers and the public. Humphrey upset that balance early in his administration. Now he seeks to perpetuate the one-sided arrangement.

In view of Humphrey's pro-unionism it was hardly surprising that the city's debt continued to soar or that the city had the second highest property tax rate among major cities in the United States.

Nor should it have been a shock that eight months after Humphrey's reelection in June, Minneapolis' financial condition was so precarious that Vice President Rollin G. Andrews of the J. M. Dain investment company warned of the detrimental influence labor was having on the city's credit rating. Andrews spoke with authority since his company, in conjunction with a New York firm, had purchased 90 per cent of the bonds issued by Minneapolis over a 20-year period.

Given only an "A" rating by Moody's Investment Service, Minneapolis had the lowest rating at which a city of its size and type could expect to dispose fairly easily of its bonds, and Andrews suggested that its less than healthy financial condition was due to the power of "selfish" labor leaders.

Organized labor returned Humphrey's loyalty and worked at a fever pitch to put him in the Senate in 1948. And Humphrey, in turn, continued to support the Big Labor bosses.

In his 16 years in the Senate, Humphrey never—absolutely never—deviated from a pro-union position. The AFL-CIO's political arm, COPE, scored Humphrey on 60 major votes throughout his Senate career. On every single vote, Humphrey sided with the labor boys.

The Aug. 11, 1967, *Congressional Quarterly*, a non-partisan publication, says this about Humphrey: "A staunch friend of organized labor, Humphrey during his Senate career strongly opposed any efforts to impose restrictions on unions and opposed all measures to allow injunctions against strikes or to strengthen measures against secondary boycotts."

Humphrey's willingness to toady to the union bosses—not to the average workingman—is really notorious. During the 1959 steel strike, Humphrey's picture was flashed in *Solidarity*, the United Auto Workers' house organ, dropping money into the steel striker's fund.

In 1960, while he was running for the presidency, he joined the pickets outside the J. I. Case Co. in Racine, Wis., to sing the militant labor song, "Solidarity Forever," and, in the words of the New York *Times*, root for the union to "bring the company to its knees." A more brazen bias by a potential President in favor of a single vested interest would be difficult to discover.

Hubert and his friends department: The vice president pays a courtesy call on Georgia's Gov. Lester Maddox at the Executive Mansion in Atlanta.

Accused in 1964 of wearing non-union underwear, Humphrey felt compelled to fire off an indignant denial to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. "But whether he stepped into a booth and provided visual evidence of the label is not reported," the Chicago *Tribune* remarked sarcastically, adding, "We should have thought that Hubert's abject loyalty to the union bosses was by now so thoroughly documented that no question of his fealty would ever arise. But union party discipline apparently is so rigid that a political slave must be regimented right down to his lingerie. 'Love us,' the labor bosses growl, 'and wear our products next to your epidermis.' "

And Humphrey continues to champion the vested interests of organized labor. In rounding up union support for the presidential nomination, he vigorously promised union bigwigs that he would do everything in his power to eliminate Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, which permits states to pass laws abolishing compulsory unionism.

Addressing a COPE rally in Milwaukee, Wis., on May 25, Humphrey declared: "In fact I realize keenly . . . and so do you . . . that the two proposals most closely related to labor's organizational interest have not yet been enacted into law. I count it unfinished . . . and necessary . . . business that common situs picketing be recognized . . . and that Section 14b be repealed.

"This unfinished business is going to be finished if I have anything to say about it. . . ."

If the American people are fortunate, however, Hubert Humphrey will have nothing to say about it. And the next President of the United States will be one to represent the entire American people, not just the parochial interests of George Meany and Walter Reuther.

Would Hubert Really Wage War on Crime?

The latest statistics compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation reveal that the national crime rate soared a stunning 16 per cent in 1967. No city, state or geographic region appeared immune from this wave of crime. Serious crimes in 1967 were up 16 per cent over the previous year in the suburbs, 17 per cent in the large cities and 12 per cent in the countryside.

In Washington, D.C., the only city in the nation under federal jurisdiction, crime shot up 37 per cent in 1967. This is double the national average and three times the rate a year ago. Robbery increased a whopping 56 per cent, rape went up 28 per cent and murder increased 26 per cent.

How would HHH carry out a campaign against crime? Many observers feel the vice president didn't help matters much when he appeared to put the stamp of acceptance, if not approval, on Washington, D.C.'s Resurrection City, which hardly shone as a beacon of law and order during its existence.

Although the one-year nationwide increase in serious crimes was startling, equally as shocking were the comparative figures for the last eight years. These showed an increase in serious crime since 1960 of 89 per cent, with a rise in violent crimes of 73 per cent.

While a terrific tide of murder, robbery and rioting has swept the country under the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations, Vice President Humphrey now makes the curious claim that if he is elected in November he will put a stop to the mounting lawlessness. The fact of the matter is, however, that Hubert Humphrey is partially responsible for existing conditions, has no workable plan to end or even reduce the violence and has taken positions on the issue that will undoubtedly make matters worse.

It is generally agreed that a major reason for the street violence today is that the liberal community has encouraged the use of massive civil disobedience as a legitimate technique to attain one's goals. And few men have

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seemingly blessed this doctrine as vigorously as Hubert Humphrey.

Time and time again he has favored or condoned the breaking of the law by those groups in society with whose objectives he has been in agreement. Thus, the vice president has been a stout supporter of the militant demonstrations staged by the late Dr. Martin Luther King and has embraced the tactic of the "sit-in," even though he concedes it might be "technically" in violation of the law.

Addressing the National Association of Counties Conference in New Orleans in 1966, Humphrey expanded somewhat on these sentiments. If rent subsidy legislation were not passed by the Congress, he warned, "we will have open violence in every major city and county in America." With these words, Humphrey appeared to be inviting violence by suggesting that riots would be justifiable if Congress refused to pass certain welfare measures.

Condoning Violence

In this same speech, Humphrey uttered his now famous line that if he lived in a slum, "I think you'd have more trouble than you have had already, because I've got enough spark left to lead a mighty good revolt under those conditions." This towering apology for mayhem by the vice president could only have emboldened those intent on seizing an excuse to provoke chaos in urban America.

This condoning of violence, however, is not new to Humphrey. As mayor of Minneapolis, Humphrey repeatedly permitted the unions to engage in illegal violence and the breaking of the laws.

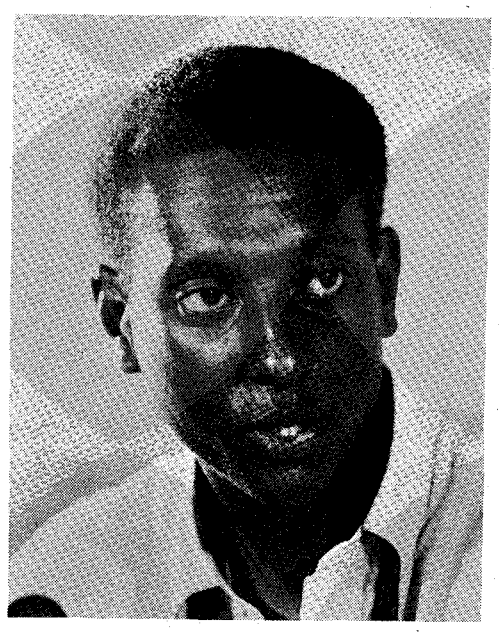
A classic example of this occurred in the April 1947 Northwestern Bell Telephone Co. strike which spread across five states, including Minnesota. While the union repeatedly violated a state law specifically prohibiting massive picketing that blocked exits and entrances to buildings, Mayor Humphrey refused to uphold the statute.

Speaking to a gathering of assembled strikers at the Minneapolis Labor Temple, the mayor proudly boasted of the fact that he "did not enforce the law against mass picketing. . . ." Observed an irate editorial in the Minneapolis *Star* of April 29:

"Monday's Minneapolis *Star* printed a news story on the telephone strike situation which quoted Mayor Hubert Humphrey as saying, 'I did not enforce the law against mass picketing last Monday because that was part of my plan to force the telephone company to come to grips with true collective bargaining. . . .'

"The mayor of Minneapolis is pledged by solemn oath to enforce the laws, all of them, impartially. Whether the telephone company has or has not come to grips with what Mayor Humphrey believes to be true collective bargaining is completely beside the point. As the official charged with the administration of the police department, the mayor has the function of enforcing the laws, not acting as a judge."

By stoutly defending Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark against the attacks on him by Richard Nixon, Humphrey has further revealed he is completely ill-equipped to defend the United States against internal disorders. Apparently believing the Justice Department has been too hard on criminals in the past,



Humphrey refuses to criticize the Justice Department even though revolutionaries such as Stokely Carmichael still roam free.

Clark has come out against capital punishment, the use of electronic devices to combat organized crime, anti-riot legislation and the overturning or modifying of Supreme Court decisions restricting the use of confessions.

Clark has also resolutely refused to prosecute such violent, pro-Communist revolutionaries as Stokely Carmichael for a variety of activities. When Clark's Justice Department contended it couldn't prosecute Carmichael for urging defiance of the Selective Service System, Dean Joseph O'Meara of the Notre Dame Law School tartly commented: "I venture to suggest that what is lacking is not a violation of law but the will to prosecute."

The vice president claims he wants to wipe out organized crime so it can no longer prey upon the poor. Yet he supports an attorney general who has inexcusably deprived organized federal crime fighters of one of their most potent weapons—electronic surveillance.

Against the recommendations of virtually every law enforcement group in the nation (including the President's own Crime Commission), Clark has declared he will positively not use electronic devices to combat the underworld. And though court-approved electronic surveillance was recently legalized by a law which the President himself signed, Clark continues to ban the use of this tool. Democratic Sen. John McClellan (Ark.), a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, terms Clark's stand a "flouting of the law."

Fortas Supported

There is almost inexhaustible evidence to show that in recent years the judicial activists in our courts have handed down decisions that have accrued to the benefit of the criminals. Yet Hubert Humphrey has energetically supported the nomination of one of the leading judicial activists, Abe Fortas, to the post of chief justice.

Fortas, in fact, cast a key vote in the famous *Miranda vs. Arizona* confessions decision in June 1966. That ruling, decided by a 5-to-4 vote, virtually barred even freely given confessions from being used in both federal and state courts as they had been since the founding of the Republic. Charles E. Moylan Jr., state's attorney for the city of Baltimore, Md., testified before Congress that he had to let go murderers and thieves because of *Miranda*. His testimony as to the effects of the case has been corroborated by dozens of prosecuting attorneys and judges from all over the nation.

Fortas' softness toward criminals was evidenced again when he sided with the court majority in June to reverse, on a technicality, the conviction of Wayne D. Bumper, who had received a life sentence after a jury in North Carolina had found him guilty of rape.

In this case, the evidence conclusively revealed that the accused had twice raped a young woman at gunpoint, shot both the woman and her companion while they were tied to a tree and left them for dead. None of these facts was in dispute. Yet the court majority overturned the conviction on the sole grounds that police did not have a proper warrant when they obtained the rifle used to shoot the victims from the home of Mrs. Hattie Leath, grandmother of the accused.

By championing Fortas, Humphrey certainly appears content to perpetuate the liberal Supreme Court majority that has actively hampered the field of law enforcement in the nation.

In proposing solutions to city riots, Humphrey has repeatedly lauded such "Great Society" creations as the anti-poverty and the model cities programs. Yet it is clear that such projects themselves are a chief ingredient contributing to the explosive situation in the nation's urban areas. These programs have been hiring Communists, black nationalists, KKK elements and other revolutionary extremists who are determined to stir up troubles in the cities, not calm them down.

Following the 1967 riots, the Senate Judiciary Committee and other congressional agencies discovered that anti-poverty workers had helped create the supercharged atmosphere in the cities which led to the violence:

• After the five-day riot in Newark, N.J., in 1967, Detective William Millard, a Negro, told the Judiciary Committee that poverty workers built up the explosive atmosphere in the city which "could very well have brought on the riot."

• The Newark mayor and other officials testified that anti-poverty workers "made significant contributions" to the riots, that the left-wing Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which brought Columbia University to its knees in 1968, controlled two of the city's eight "War on Poverty" areas, and that another New Left group, the Newark Community Union project, also controlled an anti-poverty group.

• In the same year the city manager of Rochester, N.Y., accused leaders of the anti-poverty operation there of making statements designed "to inflame rather than to calm" racial disorders.

• Four young Negroes arrested in a New York City looting raid were found to be employes of city-sponsored youth and anti-poverty projects.

• Asked by *U.S. News & World Report* if the federal government was subsidizing revolution, the mayor of Jersey City replied "this one program in Jersey City is funding and fueling and feeding people who want Jersey City to erupt into a riot."

And there is a seemingly endless number of such tales clear across the country.

As Richard Nixon recently charged, Hubert Humphrey is "tragically naive" about the nature of the crime wave engulfing our country.

"Just like the Administration of which he is a part," Nixon stressed, "Mr. Humphrey has exaggerated and overemphasized poverty in this country as a cause of crime . . . the war on poverty is not a war on crime and it is no substitute for a war on crime."

Poverty, said Nixon, "cannot explain the rising growth of crimes of violence and larceny among the youth of suburban America. Poverty cannot explain the 187 per cent increase in daytime burglaries in this country in the last seven years."

There are, said Nixon, "thousands of hardened criminals in the United States who steal and rob, not because they are living in conditions of poverty but because they can make a comfortable and successful career out of crime. . . .

"I say doubling the conviction rate . . . would do far more to cure crime in America than quadrupling the funds for Mr. Humphrey's war on poverty."

HHH and the ADA

A former chairman and vice-chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, Hubert Humphrey has been intimately involved with this organization since its inception in 1947. And there should be no mistaking the positions of ADA: they are far, far to the left.

Within the United States, the ADA has been bent on spreading the gospel of the welfare state and scattering the seeds of socialism. The first foreign lecturer to tour the United States under ADA auspices was Jennie Lee, a leading British Socialist and wife of left-wing Socialist Aneurin Bevan.

Elucidating economic doctrine, the group's house organ, the *ADA World*, revealed its sympathy toward socialism in the March 29, 1947, issue, claiming that "there must be drastic regulation, dispersal, and, in some cases, public acquisition of [American business] *monopolies. . . .*"

The organization regularly sent its members to England to study socialism, and the Jan. 27, 1950, *ADA World* supported the Socialists for re-election in England. "A Conservative victory," said the *World*, "would mean that British trade unions would have less confidence in their government. . . . The most passionate hope of our most stubborn reactionaries is for a smashing Conservative victory, with all its implications for our own election this year and in 1952."

When Sen. Homer Capehart (R.-Ind.) attacked the ADA for rooting for a Socialist victory in England, Humphrey, then the organization's chairman, gladly admitted that the ADA definitely "is interested in other elections in the world. . . . The ADA does believe it is most important for the Labor government of Great Britain to win the election. I am not apologizing for the Labor government."

Steeped in Socialist thought, the

'I've got enough spark left in me to lead a mighty good revolt.'

Hubert Humphrey, New Orleans, 1966

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ADA has feverishly fought for rampant federal control over the economy. Centralization of power in the federal government pervades virtually every economic issue to which the ADA addresses itself.

A research paper on the ADA put out by the Republican National Committee reveals the broad outlines of its philosophy. Some typical quotes culled by the committee from successive ADA platforms:

"• The government must undertake to build firm foundations for enduring prosperity by bold, long-range programs for the development of our resources, the rebuilding of our cities, the elimination of our slums, and the provision of full and equal opportunities for health, education and security for all our people."

• "Government subsidies and financing and, if necessary, government plants must be used to provide more power, more steel and other vitally necessary raw materials."

• "Housing goals must be set by the federal government."

Policy of Accommodation

The 1964 ADA program—to which Humphrey's name is attached—was presented to the platform committee of the Democratic National Committee. Insisting that the trouble with the United States is that it doesn't like "big" government, the ADA requested the Democrats to adopt in their platform plank an "accelerated public works program," a "large-scale public housing program" and the establishment of more TVAs. It also suggested that the Democrats promise to "increase public employment by developing comprehensive programs to meet the unmet needs of the American people."

Yet domestic socialism—or one of its variations—isn't ADA's only goal. While ADA was founded as an anti-Communist organization within the framework of the democratic left in the United States, it has, more often than not, advanced a program of wholesale appeasement of the Communists in foreign affairs.

Even back in 1947—according to friendly biographer Clifton Brock—the ADA, after considerable internal struggle, just barely backed the Truman Doctrine of giving military aid to Greece and Turkey to prevent a Communist takeover. On the other hand, as Brock revealingly points out, the ADA enthusiastically embraced the Marshall Plan because it "omitted the military aid features which had turned many of them against the Doctrine, it pledged U.S. aid not to two small and reactionary regimes, but to all of Europe, *including Russia*. . . ." (Emphasis added).

Since its mild flirtation with anti-communism in the 1947-48 period, however, the ADA has vigorously pursued a policy of accommodation with the Communists.

In the field of internal security the ADA has demanded the elimination of laws and congressional committees that maintain it. "First and foremost," said ADA (1964 program), "we pledge the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Committee [sic] on Internal Security. . . . We pledge to those who have been dismissed in the past as loyalty or security risks the opportunity to have their cases re-examined on their merits. . . . We pledge the repeal of statutory provisions limiting such freedoms, such as those contained in the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Communist Control Act of 1954. We pledge the abolition of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations."

As an active "Red China lobby," the ADA has drawn up an enormous rehabilitation program for mainland China, including recognition, admission to the United Nations, inclusion in international nuclear talks and removal of U.S. trade and passport barriers applying to it.

Apologies for Castro

As James Burnham documented in his study "Does ADA Run the New Frontier?," the organization has also tried to rehabilitate Castro's Cuba. Like Humphrey, the ADA welcomed Castro's assumption to power, and 15 months after his takeover, Robert J. Alexander could write in the April 1960 issue of *ADA World* that Castro's condemnation of the United States was deserved because of "the recent history of our relations with the Latin American countries."

"The Cuban crisis," an ADA editorial stated in October 1960, "will be solved . . . as the Cubans realize that the rest of Latin America is moving forward with our help. . . . Castro's hold in Cuba comes from what he has done for the people, not what he has done for the Russians."

In February 1962 the ADA remained unbothered by the fact that Cuba was rapidly being transformed into a Soviet military base. Noted the *ADA World*: "Action by the U.S. to intervene militarily or to support military invasion by Cuban exiles . . . would be not only wrong but self-defeating. . . . [This is] no time to take unilateral economic sanctions against Cuba."

Regarding the war in Viet Nam, the group has continued to oppose military escalation, the northern bombing, and in fact has insisted that the United States recognize the Viet Cong and bring them into a coalition government.

It is no wonder that Gus Hall, Moscow-trained head of the U.S. Communist party, had praise for the ADA in the June 23, 1963, *Worker* because of its role in turning America leftward. The "serious left," said Hall, must work within the Democratic party to shape left-wing movements and issues and "on many of these issues the ADA has fulfilled a limited role."

Perhaps Humphrey could not be blamed for every one of the utterances

Back in 1949, Sen. Humphrey met with ADA executive committee chairman Joseph L. Rauh Jr. to push for massive civil rights legislation.

of the ADA, but he had fostered it, spoken for it and lent it his prestige over the years. While other liberals—notably David McDonald, former head of the Steelworkers union and Sal Hoffman, head of the Upholsterers' union—dropped out of ADA because of its left-wing extremism, Hubert Humphrey, along with such Socialist-minded colleagues as Walter Reuther and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., remained. And it was only after he became vice president that he quietly resigned from the organization.

Rating Humphrey's Voting Record

- The ACA (Americans for Constitutional Action) says that Humphrey voted only 1 per cent conservative during his 16 years in the Senate.
- The ADA (Americans for Democratic Action) has Humphrey voting "right" (read liberal) 191 times; "wrong" only three times.
- COPE (the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education) proudly proclaims that Humphrey voted "right" 100 per cent of the time while he was in the Senate. On the 60 rollcalls COPE considered, Humphrey voted every time in accord with the wishes of the big labor bosses.

ADA's Judgment 'Better'

On 194 votes tabulated by the ADA, Humphrey had voted with that organization 191 times. This alone would suggest a striking similarity in philosophy. And when he has disagreed with the ADA, he has abjectly apologized. On June 20, 1957, Humphrey rose on the Senate floor to state:

"So far as the ADA is concerned, I, too, am one of its officers. I think it no secret that on occasion this great organization has seen fit to chastise me, and perhaps properly so. Perhaps I did not understand why at the moment, but their judgment was undoubtedly better than mine."

Liberals say Hubert Humphrey has to be his own man, but he has yet to divorce himself from LBJ. Above, LBJ and HHH at the 1964 Democratic convention.

Spending Like Santa Claus

As the irrepressible spokesman for the "Politics of Joy," Hubert Humphrey has been known to describe the war in Viet Nam as "our great experience." But if he ever became President, Humphrey's most joyous work would unquestionably be in trying to increase the size of the federal government and to spend more of the taxpayers' money.

A compilation of Humphrey's voting record on key issues from 1949 through 1964 was put out by the non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly*. Of the 156 votes recorded, one cannot find a single rollcall on which Humphrey voted to cut spending in domestic affairs. There is the overwhelming feeling that Humphrey would ante up the pot no matter what the size or the purpose. Nor is there any measure on which he voted that he would reduce the awesome power of the federal government.

Like the Americans for Democratic Action which he founded, he has been for peacetime price and rent controls, seizure of private industry through executive powers, a rapid proliferation of public power projects, for more rather than less federal aid to education, more aid to foreign countries—preferably channelled through the United Nations—and against cuts in appropriations for the executive departments.

Humphrey came to the Senate in 1949 broke, but by 1964, according to his own statement, his net worth was $180,000; thus he had managed to put aside the tidy sum of $11,000 or so per year. But Humphrey obviously doesn't apply the same "penny saved, penny earned" philosophy to the federal government.

Humphrey is nothing if not a Big Thinker when it comes to spending money. "To those who have been calling me the greatest spender, I want to say you haven't seen anything yet," he told a radio audience in 1949.

"The senator from Minnesota does not believe in a balanced budget at this hour," he told the Senate in January 1950, "nor is he afraid to say so. . . ." "A balanced budget," he elaborated in 1953, is a "futile dream." In typical Humphreyana, he declared that income would never meet outgo until the "world is in balance. . . ." Whatever those words actually meant, it was clear Humphrey was not calling for government economy.

"There is one factor—one condition—in the executive branch which does cause concern," Humphrey complained in 1959, the year in which the Repub-

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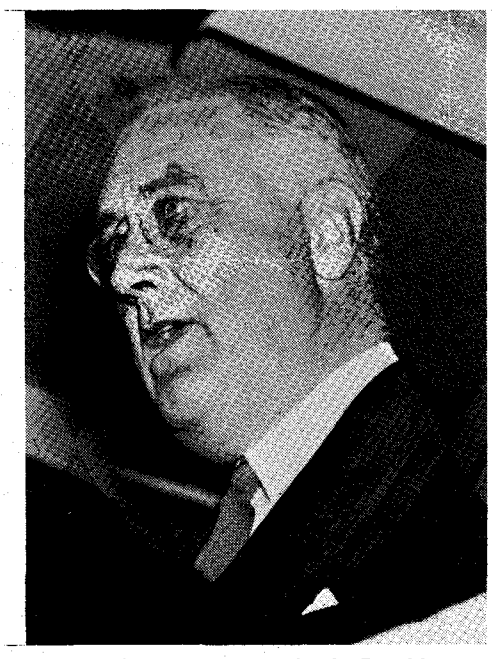
'To those who have been calling me the greatest spender, I want to say you haven't seen anything yet'

—Hubert Humphrey

lican administration had, up to that time, scored the biggest budget and biggest peacetime deficit in history. "It is what I call 'budget-itis,'" Humphrey opined, "a condition which spreads like contagion from the accountant of the Bureau of the Budget."

Just seven days after the record $12.5-billion deficit was history, Humphrey could not refrain from saying: "This is an Administration with a bookkeeper's mentality, which is more interested in dollar signs and ledger books than in the real problems, needs and desires of the American people."

Humphrey once paid a curious tribute to the late President Roosevelt—considered a wild spendthrift in his day—for his "wisdom in curtailing expenditures." And Humphrey could get positively irate when spending cuts were proposed by some of his colleagues. "If some member of Congress offers a



Humphrey once praised President Franklin D. Roosevelt for "his wisdom in curtailing expenditures."

little two-bit amendment in the name of economy to cut off $25 million from the school lunch program," he once snapped waspishly, "or $100 million from the soil conservation program, that makes him a hero for economy!" Not everybody thinks of a $100-million proposed spending cut as a "two-bit amendment" for economy, but then Humphrey was not everyone.

'Noxious Weeds'

No issue ever really seemed too insignificant for Humphrey's wide-ranging interests. While he could be found calling for a "global" anti-poverty program at one point, he could, with equal fervor, launch a crusade to wipe out "noxious weeds" or promote a federal "home-gardening program to assist needy persons."

With visions of our government cranking out super athletes that could defeat any opponent, Humphrey thoughtfully called for the creation of a federal sports agency in 1964. "Never again," Humphrey solemnly intoned with atypical chauvinism, "should our country run a mere eighth, as we unfortunately did in the Winter Olympics in Austria."

Contemplating Humphrey's penchant for spending the taxpayers' hard-earned savings, columnist Raymond Moley remarked in the Los Angeles *Times:* "The infinite variety of Sen. Humphrey's contrivances to spend taxpayers' money and to thrust the federal proboscis into private affairs is a source of amazement, wonder and, occasionally, a source of innocent merriment.

"No cranny of our civilization escapes his roving eye and no subject flags his energetic tongue. Recently, he unfolded in the Senate a scheme to federalize what he calls 'the living arts.' "

Moley sarcastically suggested that Humphrey had added deeply to our knowledge about this subject by revealing there were now 10 arts rather than the proverbial seven. The Minnesota senator explained that he wanted to "expand our counteroffensive" in this area and to implement this activity through a federal advisory commission that would plan handouts to would-be artists and the establishment of a national gallery.

"We already have a national gallery in Washington," noted Moley, "but since it was contributed to by Andrew Mellon, the senator probably believes that it smells too much of capitalism and harbors too much bourgeois art."

Humphrey, of course, has had the last laugh, for the "Great Society," beginning in 1964, has already begun federal subsidization of the arts in a grand manner, including the funnelling of funds to the "hate-whitey" plays of black racist LeRoi Jones.

'Marshall Plan' for Cities

Since he became vice president and the Democratic nominee's candidate for President, of course, Humphrey has contrived new schemes, including a "Marshall Plan" for the cities and the implementation of the wildly expensive recommendations made by the Kerner Commission report.

Humphrey continues his penchant for spending despite the lessons of the last four years. Because of excessive spending by the LBJ-HHH Administration, we have lost the confidence of the international banking community, suffered drastic and repeated raids on our gold reserves, and seen the international monetary credit system totter and stagger, only to be propped up by the repeated forbearance of America's international creditors. Our gold backing for the currency has been removed, inflation has increased by 6½ per cent in the past two years and the American dollar has been refused by merchants and hoteliers abroad.

As still a further consequence of our disastrous monetary and fiscal policies, interest rates have reached the highest point in 100 years, the budget for fiscal year 1968 showed a deficit of a whopping $25 billion and intensive controls on the movement of capital, on wages and prices, having been instituted, directly or indirectly.

If you pick up your morning paper, however, you will probably find that Hubert Humphrey has just proposed a spanking new scheme to spend the dollar.

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The Election Year Syndrome

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I need no calendar to tell me it's an election year. That's when the whispering campaigns bloom and tell you, if softly, that the GOP is a collection of nasty anti-Semites. Didn't you (buzz-buzz) know?

I still get occasional hate-mail about the "Protocols of Zion," that diabolical Jewish plot to rule the world. The cabal, say the writers, is going only too well, so well that I once asked why I hadn't been let in on it. After all, my credentials are impeccable.

That sort of kook is easy to laugh off. But there's a more insidious inverse bigotry, meant to capitalize on minority fears, that's not so easily disposed of, since its propounders seem more respectable.

E.g., Hubert Humphrey, addressing B'nai Brith, first makes it clear Richard Nixon is without bigotry. (That is the opening gambit, akin to the famous one that begins, "Some of my best friends are. . .")

But then Hubert goes on to insinuate that GOP opposition to confirming Abe Fortas stems from the fact Fortas is Jewish. And don't tell me Hubert said no such thing. I defy anyone who understands English to read that Fortas reference and, considering the occasion, draw any other inference.

Now one of the leaders in the fight against Fortas is Sen. George Murphy

Some liberals are raising the phony issue of anti-Semitism with regard to the nomination of Justice Fortas (above), according to columnist Ryskind.

of California, a long-time personal friend. And if George is anti-Semitic, I hereby nominate him for an Oscar as the greatest actor in the world.

The simple truth is that Hubert's appeal was a tawdry attempt to crystallize and capture a bloc vote—Hubert at his almost demagogic best.

I say "almost" because, though good, it still must rank second to his superb performance in Ohio in 1964. There he pleaded with Ohioans to cleanse themselves of their 1960 sin, when the state went for Nixon over Kennedy. "Vote Democratic—and send the message so that John Kennedy in heaven will know we won!" Come to think of it, that merits an Oscar for utter *chutzpah*, that wonderful Yiddish word for the ultimate in gall.

Apparently—I'm always the last to know of such matters, as witness the Protocols and Sen. Murphy—the GOP has been virulently anti-Semitic since 1940. There was a simple syllogism: FDR opposed Hitler; the GOP opposed FDR; ergo, the GOP was pro-Hitler. Q.E.D.

That argument was used in Hollywood in 1940, when Bob Montgomery, Murphy and I started a Willkie club. And that propaganda fire was stoked by a Hollywood agent who returned from New York with a story "they" told him: Willkie had made a secret deal with Hitler.

That preposterous yarn—about as authentic as the Protocols—actually spread over the movie industry. Nobody asked how a Hollywood agent had discovered a "secret" unknown to the Democratic party—which would, obviously, have made political hay of it—but many repeated it. But recall the trauma of the Jews at the enormity of Hitler's crimes, and you'll see how they came to swallow it.

I fought City Hall by taking some page ads in the trade papers, offering to print anything provably anti-Semitic about Willkie. But added that, if the smears continued, I would list in large type the names of those who were spreading a lie as monstrous as anything Goebbels had said about Jews. I doubt it changed many votes, but nobody ever repeated such charges again in my presence.

Just the same, Tom Dewey was likewise smeared in his two tries. Ike escaped, it being manifestly impossible to accuse the commander of the Allied invasion forces of being pro-Nazi.

But Nixon got the full treatment in 1960. And—top this if you can—so did Goldwater, of all people, in 1964.

And in the 1966 California gubernatorial race, Pat Brown's campaign manager labeled Ronnie Reagan anti-Semitic for making a speech at a club with no Jewish members. But it developed Pat regularly played golf at that club, so that hot potato was dropped.

So help me, if through some miracle Jehovah Himself were to head the GOP ticket, somebody would whisper that Jehovah, too, was anti-Semitic. Otherwise, would He have allowed the Jews to be persecuted all these years?

So what else is new?

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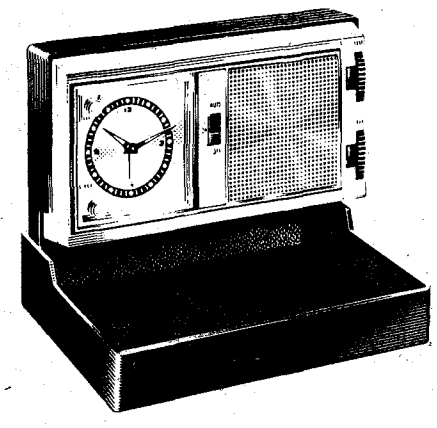

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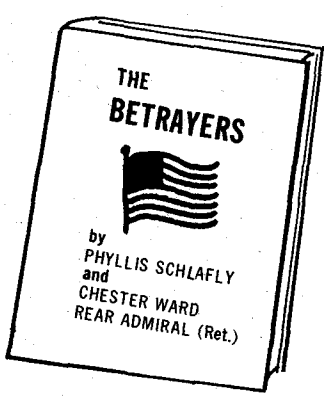

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Black Challenge to Unions

Behind the New York Teachers' Strike

By VICTOR RIESEL

Behind the struggle for blackboard power in New York City is a confrontation which could spray volcanic violence across the land.

A black supremacist by the name of Rhody McCoy has challenged the entire labor movement on several fronts. If the union leaders lose on any one of these lines, it's headed fc ·disintegration.

All this, virtually unobserved, is the real story behind the massive teachers' strike against the world's largest single school system.

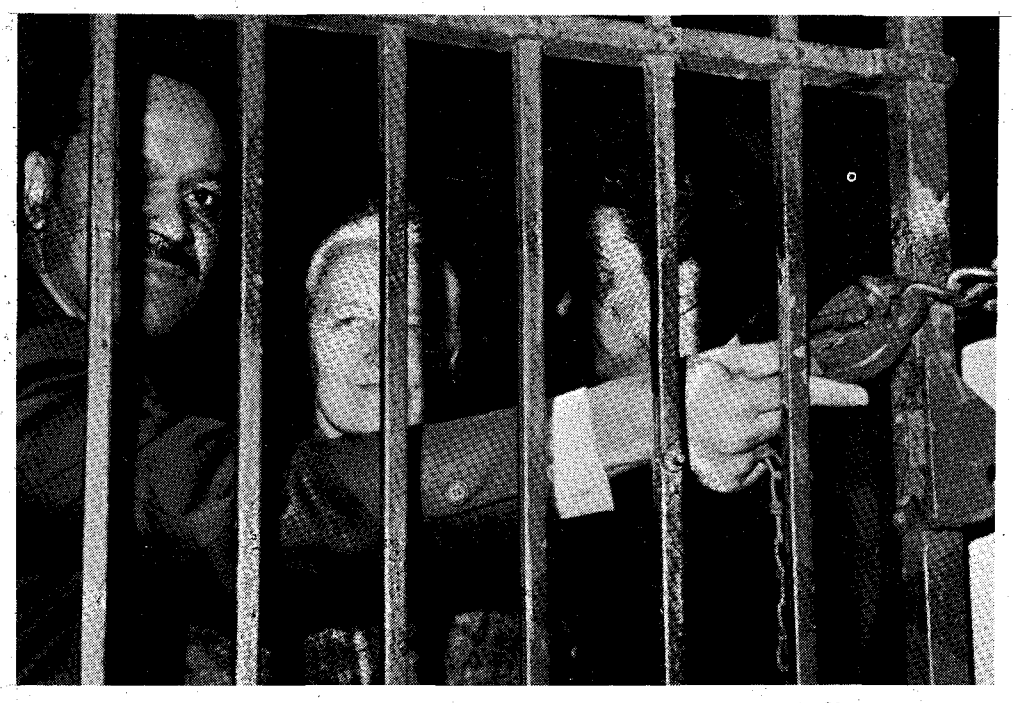
On the surface, the story is the walkout of the 55,000-member United Federation of Teachers to force Mr. McCoy, administrator of the predominantly Negro Ocean Hill-Brownsville ghetto school district, to "rehire" 10 teachers. But the real story begins with Rhody McCoy's pressuring the Board of Education to deposit millions of dollars of local school operating funds in a neighborhood bank so his board could operate independently of the central Board of Education.

This would give him power to deal with construction and repair contractors as well as with the AFL-CIO's huge teachers' union. In addition, Mr. McCoy, who actually does not live in New York City despite his power in the Brooklyn ghetto, has been offered additional building and construction powers by the Board of Education.

The weekend of September 7 city authorities told him that if he "rehired" the 10 instructors, who have central Board of Education tenure anyway, he would in effect have full authority to negotiate with school construction contractors.

Specifically, he was told that he could then insist that the contractors need not be unionized firms; that he could insist that those building, repairing, or enlarging schools in his district must hire heavy proportions of black workers—and foremen!

Thus Rhody McCoy would set the precedent which would be seized on in a hundred metropolises. He could simply by-pass the local, the city-wide, the state Building and Construction Trades Councils (AFL-CIO).



The Rev. Milton Galamison, a recently appointed member of New York City's Board of Education, holds a padlock on the gates of the Central Commercial High School. Galamison, a longtime civil rights militant, joined teachers attempting to cross a UFT picket line as the school strike continued.

As though some master scenarist were developing the drama, the pledge to black leader Rhody McCoy, and the opening of the school year, and the quarterly meeting of the national AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department's Executive Committee in the Hotel Commodore all converged on the city at the same moment.

This Executive Committee is made up of most of the presidents of 18 powerful national construction unions. They're led by Neil Haggerty, who upon retirement most likely will turn his chair over to Peter Brennan, president of the New York State Building and Construction Trades Council.

Thus, Mr. Brennan, technically the host for this meeting, probably someday will lead the 3.5-million members of the national department. They simply are not going to stand by and see their hiring halls, apprenticeship systems, union regulations, work rules, and membership entrance regulations wiped out either in Black Rock or Brooklyn.

But there are even more basic canons of trade unionism which the disdainful Rhody McCoy has violated.

When the teachers' union threatened to throw pickets in front of the handful of public schools in the pilot project region he administers, he warned that there could be no guarantee of the pickets' "physical safety."

This was considered a direct threat to union pickets. No one has dared do this since the final rivet was welded into the Brooklyn Bridge so horse carriages could cross. Then Mr. McCoy told the union and the authorities that he could not guarantee the safety of the 10 teachers he ousted if they returned to his ghetto district's schools.

What Mr. McCoy was saying was that not only could the union not fight for the teachers' job security, but that if they were ordered reinstated, they could not safely take up their old jobs.

Thus, the Teachers Federation could not win, he said in effect. This was the most basic confrontation. What good is any union if it can't protect not only the jobs of its people, but the members themselves? Who then would need any union?

Then McCoy heaped sacrilege upon heresy. He hired replacements for the strikers. In labor's parlance, they were "scabs." But he never lost his cool.

Neither did the strong men of labor's establishment, meeting in Executive Committee as a prelude to the AFL-CIO's Executive Council sessions set for the following week.

The outcome of the strike is as important as the settling of any dispute. They come. They go. But the real battle is the black confrontation with labor's establishment. Especially in New York where, with one word, union chiefs have shut down sprawling transportation systems, railroads, harbors and communications.

These men of labor know how to protect their jurisdiction, their pickets, their members. And they will—if confrontations compound confrontations.

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Does HHH Need Gene McCarthy?

By DON MACLEAN in the Washington *Daily News*

The opinion at this desk is that Hubert Humphrey would be better off without Eugene McCarthy. While it goes without saying that many of Hubert's speeches and remarks are forgettable—such as the time he said, seriously, "Every man is entitled to a postal address"—many of us will not soon forget McCarthy's view that the Czechoslovakian crisis is not a very serious matter.

Maybe that's why Hubert Humphrey needs McCarthy. After all, when one is preaching the politics of joy in times such as these, it might prove helpful to have around someone who can pass off even the worst calamity as an item of scant interest.

It follows that if the invasion of Czechoslovakia is only a mini crisis in McCarthy's book, then the rest of his book must read like "Alice in Wonderland." What, besides the bombing of North Viet Nam, would he consider serious?

Humphrey's strategy becomes clear to me now: At the moment, he's on the defensive, trying to explain the crime situation, the gold drain, inflation and riots. What he needs is someone to minimize these things until they become almost laughable in their unimportance.

McCarthy could hit the trail for Hubert and, when asked about the crime situation, for instance, he might say something like this: "Oh, there's crime, of course, but nothing that should concern the vast majority of us. After all, there are 200 million Americans, they can't all get held up or robbed every night."

The gold drain: "Why worry about that while we still have some gold? There'll be plenty of time to worry about it when it's all gone." (And so forth.)

However, our moral today might be found in the old saying, "If you can keep your head when all about you are losing theirs, it's possible you don't understand the situation."

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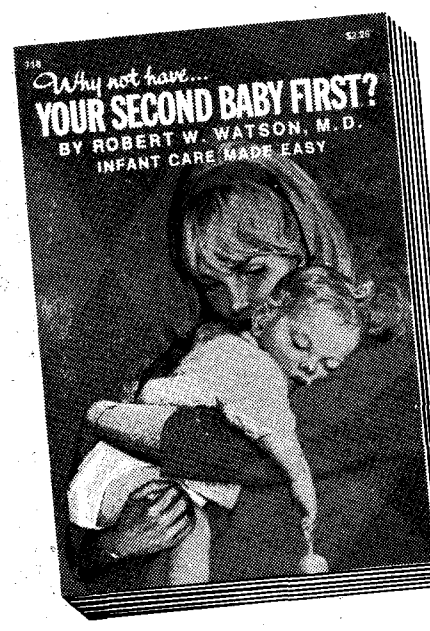

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What Was Intent of Congress?

Federal Bureaucrats in Local Schools

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Part of the strategy of Hubert Humphrey and his allies is to try to link Richard Nixon, the Republican presidential candidate, with the views of George Wallace, the third-party candidate. The New York *Times*, in a recent editorial, declared that Mr. Nixon "has begun to compete openly with George C. Wallace for the white segregationist vote."

The *Times* was referring to a recent interview in which Nixon espressed reservations about some of the methods used by the federal government to enforce the Supreme Court's 1954 decision prohibiting racial discrimination in the schools. Nixon said he believed the 1954 decision was correct, but he went on to describe as "dangerous" the policy of threatening to cut off federal funds from school districts that fail to follow integration rules set by Washington bureaucrats.

This question has many legal angles, but it boils down to whether the attorney general of the United States and the federal commissioner of education are following the will of Congress in their efforts to enforce integration. The question of withholding federal funds goes back to the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which the attorney general and the federal Office of Education are using to proceed against local school districts.

An examination of the intent of Congress in the passage of this act therefore is in order. The manager of the bill in the Senate was the then Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

As passed by the House, the civil rights bill gave the attorney general wide authority to file suits in any area of the country to force integration. The Senate, however, adopted an amendment providing that "nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another or one school district to another in order to achieve such racial balance, or otherwise enlarge the existing power of the court to insure compliance with constitutional standards."

There was much discussion of this provision in the Senate on June 4, 1964. Sen. Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia asked:

"Can the senator from Minnesota assure the senator from West Virginia that under Title VI school children may not be bused from one end of the community to another end of the community at the taxpayers' expense to relieve so-called racial imbalance in the schools?"

Sen. Humphrey replied, "I do." He went on to say that the provision "merely quotes the substance of a recent court decision, which I have with me, and which I desire to include in the *Record* today, the so-called Gary case."

(In this case the United States Court of Appeals in Chicago upheld a decision by District Judge George N. Beamer which denied an injunction sought by 100 pupils in the Gary schools. The suit asked the court to order the schools to realign school districts for the purpose of mixing Negroes and whites. In refusing to issue the order, Judge Beamer declared that the neighborhood school system is a long and well established institution in American public school education with obvious social, cultural and administrative advantages. To transfer pupils miles away from their home neighborhood for the purpose of balancing the races would, he said, violate the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. On May 4, 1964, the United States Supreme Court refused to review the Court of Appeals decision, and thus left it standing.)

Sen. Byrd was still unsatisfied. He asked Sen. Humphrey if the provision under discussion would prevent the Office of Education, under other sections of the bill, from requiring school districts to "take action to relieve racial imbalance wherever it may be deemed to exist."

"Yes," replied Sen. Humphrey. "I do not believe in duplicity. I believe that if we include the language [previously cited] it must apply throughout the act."

At another stage of the debate Sen. Humphrey discussed a section of the bill authorizing the attorney general to file suits against discrimination in public education. He explained that the bill explicitly declared that "nothing in this title shall prohibit classification and assignment for reasons other than race, color, religion, or national origin."

Then he added:

"Thus, classification along bona fide neighborhood school lines, or for any other legitimate reason which local school boards may see fit to adopt, would not be affected by Title IV, so long as such classification was bona fide. Furthermore, this amendment makes clear that the only federal intervention in local schools will be for the purpose of preventing denial of equal protection of the laws."

When the subject of cutting off federal funds came up in the debate, Sen. Humphrey said:

"The worry is that some bureaucrat may issue an order that would cut off funds. . . . What did we do to make sure that would not happen? We provided the language: 'No such rule, regulation, or order shall become effective unless and until approved by the President.' "

He also explained that no funds could be cut off without giving a school district opportunity for a hearing and without filing notice with the appropriate committees of the House and Senate.

The record of the debate makes it clear that the present Democratic candidate for President concurred in the Senate's decision that no federal official should be empowered to require transportation of pupils to achieve a racial balance. He recognized the danger of giving bureaucrats power to cut off federal funds, and helped to write into the bill severe restrictions on this power.

Nevertheless, the Justice Department in recent months has filed suits against 159 school districts to enforce desegregation of the schools. The federal Office of Education is investigating 80 school districts in the North and is looking for a test case to cut off federal funds from a district which is disobeying the rules from Washington.

Mr. Nixon's recent statement on this subject was dignified and restrained, but very much to the point when he expressed doubt that a federal department should become the board of education in every American community. The criticism of his views by Mr. Humphrey's partisans is inconsistent with Mr. Humphrey's own position in the 1964 Senate debate.

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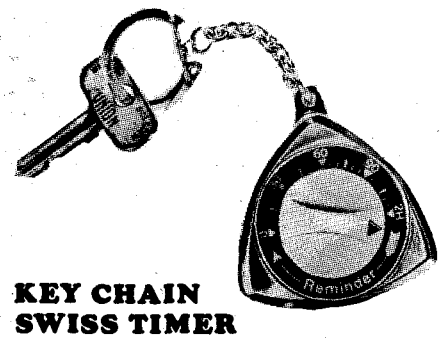

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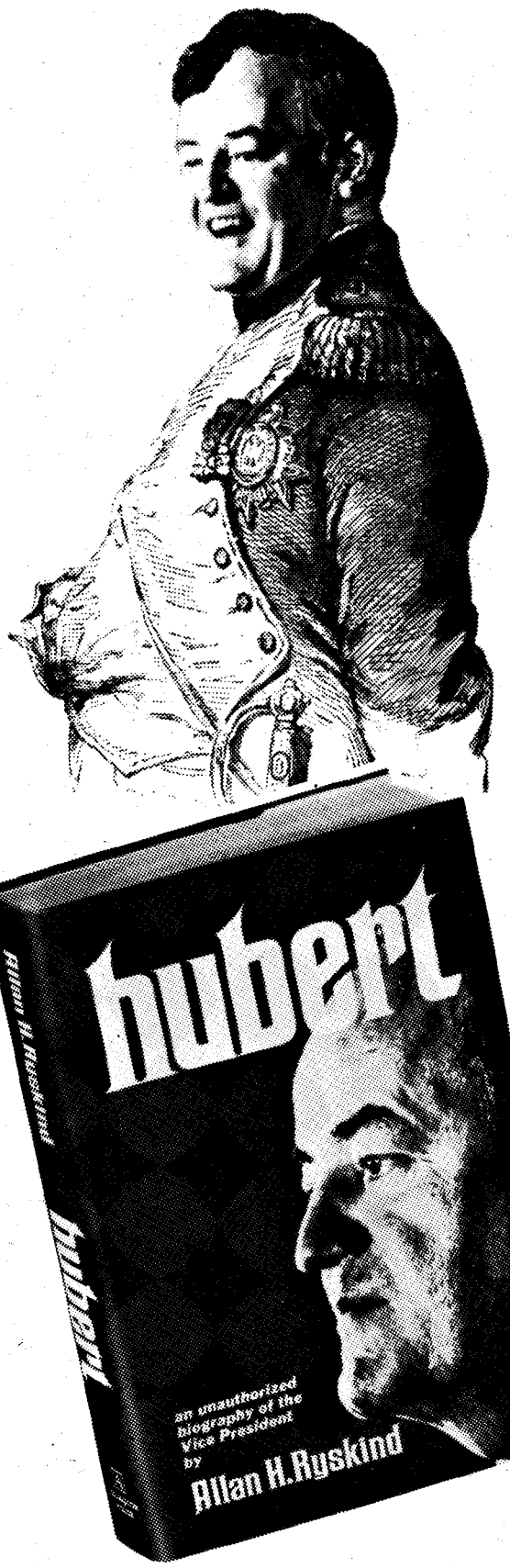

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Lyndon, at least until yesterday, treated him like a cowhand down at the ranch. "Hubert, did I hear you belch?" so goes one of the stories floating around Washington. "No, Mr. President. Was I supposed to?"

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• Hubert on Communism abroad: "I would say that we have to keep in mind what Russia wants and needs."

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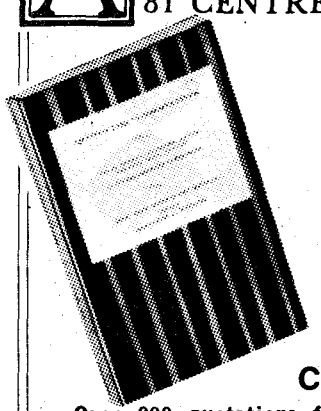

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